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From Bodhgayā to Lhasa to Beijing: The Life and Times of Śāriputra (c.1335-1426), Last Abbot of Bodhgayā

presented by Arthur Philip McKeown

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From Bodhgayā to Lhasa to Beijing: The Life and Times of Śāriputra (c.1335-1426), Last Abbot of Bodhgayā

A dissertation presented

by

Arthur Philip McKeown

to

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ABSTRACT

The *terminus ante quem* for Indian Buddhism is commonly held to be the mid-thirteenth century. This study demonstrates that this position is no longer tenable by providing the first detailed examination of the life of the fifteenth century Indian Buddhist monk, Śāriputra (1335-1426), through biographical, historical, and material evidence of his travels from India through Nepāl and Tibet, and finally to the Ming Imperial court.

This dissertation analyzes Śāriputra's Tibetan and Chinese biographies, which portray startlingly different personalities – from the ethically observant abbot of Vajrāsana to the transgressive, *nātha*-influenced tantrika. In both roles, he reconstituted Buddhist systems of meaning in India, and garnered royal patronage wherever he traveled. One of the major methodological problems with which this study grapples is the possibility of harvesting historical information from literary sources.

A close consideration of Śāriputra's life provides a window into fifteenth century Buddhism in India, Nepāl, Tibet, and China, reveals the fascination that Buddhist India still exerted for these countries which had largely stopped traveling there. The site that wielded particular interest for both Indian and non-Indian Buddhists was the locus of the Buddha's Awakening – and the center of the Buddhist

world – Vajrāsana. In many respects, Śāriputra's influence derives from his intimate relationship with Vajrāsana.

This study therefore demonstrates not only that Indian Buddhism survived into the fifteenth century and beyond, but also reveals what it looked like to one witness and his many interlocutors. Buddhism was unquestionably on the wane, but this decline was punctuated by moments of revival and reconstitution. With records like those pertaining to Śāriputra, new avenues of research are available into Indian Buddhist interactions with their Muslim counterparts, Buddhist exile literature, and more. Śāriputra embodies both Buddhism's survival as a normative philosophical tradition as well as its power to innovate and adapt.

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For my parents

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TTC	*Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*
HYDCD	*Hanyu dacidian*
Negi	*Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*

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Figure 1: Śāriputra in Dpal 'khor chos sde, Rgyal rtse
Photo by Sarah Schorr

Introduction

The Importance of Śāriputra

The site of the Buddha's – and all buddhas' – Awakening at Vajrāsana (modern Bodhgayā, in Bihar state, India), looms large in the *imaginaire* of Indian Buddhists, and Buddhists throughout Asia. Like a radio tower, this site continued to emit signals received in Buddhist countries of South-, Southeast-, and East-Asia until at least the mid-fifteenth century. Like any Holy Land, Vajrāsana comprised a network of symbols that functioned in relation to one another. The living, though not necessarily thriving, Buddhist community that lived there, the Mahābodhi temple and its image of Śākyamuni Buddha in *bhumisparśa mudrā*, and the relation between *cakravartin* kings and buddhas that became paradigmatic at this site all worked in conjunction to give this site power and place in the pan-Asian Buddhist imagination.

This project is primarily a historical study of the life and travels of one person who not only embodied, but had the ability to replicate, the network of symbols comprising Vajrāsana, the Indian Buddhist scholar Śāriputra (1335-1426). We will follow him from India, through Nepal and Tibet, and finally to the Ming court in Beijing. The stress will be on *following* Śāriputra, tracking clues that he left behind. The archeological and literary records investigated fail to generate a reliably secure biography allowing us to claim that he has been *found*. In fact, it may be more proper to say Śāriputra will be *palpated* by analytically pressing down on certain tangential aspects of his life, such as the

biographical literature concerning him or the records surrounding the monuments and images he designed, thereby "creating a zone of touch where the sense of the [subject] can emerge without its being directly experienced."[1] This will generate a *sense* of who Śāriputra was, why he was important, and the ways in which that importance was manipulated. At the conclusion, we will address the possibility of *experiencing* Śāriputra, in terms of his relics.

Śāriputra cannot be separated from the time and place in which he spent his formative years. This was fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Vajrāsana[2], when Buddhism in India was in decline in India.[3] Śāriputra initially went to Vajrāsana to see the center of the Buddhist world, where all Buddhas were to "Awaken." What he found were ruins, a Mahābodhi temple cut in half. The wretched state of this most holy of Buddhist sites encouraged him to start rebuilding, first on his own, later with the support of royal patrons. Even after he left Vajrāsana for Tibet and China, he never stopped rebuilding Vajrāsana. If

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[1] T. May, *Gilles Deleuze: An Introduction*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20.

[2] Throughout this dissertation, I will be referring to the site containing the Mahābodhi temple, known today as Bodhgayā, as well as the cosmological *axis mundi*, as Vajrāsana. This site is known in Tibetan as *rdo rje gdan* (*rdo rje* = *vajra*; *gdan* = *asana*), in Chinese as 金剛座 *jingangzuo* (*jingang* = *vajra*; *zuo* = *asana*), and in Mon as Śrī Bajrās (Śrī Vajrāsana).

[3] The term "decline" is intended to refer, primarily, to the historical diminution of Buddhism, in terms of number of adherents and influence. This meaning should be distinguished from two other related arguments about decline, the so-called "degradation" of Buddhism, in terms of the growth of the Mahāyāna and tantra, and the cosmological decline of Buddhism. The issue of degradation will be addressed somewhat below, and the issue of cosmological decline will be explored in Chapters 1 and 3.

he had not found Vajrāsana in a state of such decay, would he have had the same legacy of building replicas of the Mahābodhi temples and images throughout Asia? We cannot know. However, there can be no doubt that he carried the mental image of a Vajrāsana in ruins with him during his long travels.

INDIAN BUDDHISM IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY?

To place Śāriputra in his historical milieu, we need to look at Buddhist India during the fifteenth century. This is quite difficult, as from the very beginning of western Buddhist studies, most scholars assumed that Buddhism died out in India between the ninth and thirteenth centuries. The few dissenters from this assumption failed to have the impact their dissent warranted.[4] This study is the most substantial (and verifiable) case-study of a late Indian Buddhist, and therefore aims to significantly reshape the received version of Indian Buddhist history.

Western scholarship largely maintains that Indian Buddhism succumbed to a two-pronged attack: one from non-Buddhist schools, such as the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* cults and another following the military suppression by Muslim and Hindu groups. These two prongs are interrelated, as the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava

[4] See for example, A. Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 1 (1932): 355-76. Waley was one of the earliest to explore the Chinese biography of the fourteenth-century Indian Buddhist traveler Dhyānabhadra.

cults may have served to catalyze or justify military action.[5] Less scholarly traditions also argue that Buddhism was overcome by a simplified version of one of the above assaults – the philosophical challenges of non-Buddhists, groups or individuals like the exponent of Advaita Vedānta, Śaṅkara, or by the Muslim hordes. Most modern "reevaluations" of late Indian Buddhism's demise focus on one or the other of these simplified versions, thereby merely restating the case made by past scholars, at best generating a more nuanced version of the scenarios described above.[6]

A short genealogy of the scholarship surrounding the death of Indian Buddhism is provided below to demonstrate how the nineteenth century scenario of decline survived despite two centuries of fruitful work in the area of Indian history and Buddhist studies. Only then can we appreciate the historical importance of figures like Śāriputra. By placing Śāriputra in a milieu of other late Indian Buddhist travelers, we are better equipped to evaluate him as an individual, which is the purpose of the main body of this study.

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[5] Peter Schalk has described the tensions between Buddhists and the Tamil *bhakti* cults in the seventh century. See P. Schalk et al., *Buddhism among Tamils in Pre-Colonial Tamilakam and Īlam*, (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2002), 19ff, 446ff.

[6] Some scholars have argued that Indian Buddhism never died out, since it still survives among the Newar Buddhist communities of the Kathmandu valley. While I sympathize with these arguments, the point of this study is to demonstrate Buddhism's survival in a normative, institutionalized, monastic form in its heartland. Given the reception of Śāriputra – and later Vanaratna – in these Newar communities, there may well have been a perceived discrepancy between Newar clerics and the ordained coming from outside the Kathmandu valley.

The ruminations of Alexander Cunningham (1814-1893), founder of the Archaeological Survey of India, were one of the earliest assessments of Buddhism's decline in India by a modern western scholar.[7] The full title of the 1854 book *The Bhilsa Topes* is *The Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India: Comprising a Brief Historical Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Decline of Buddhism; with an Account of the Opening and Examination of the Various Groups of Topes around Bhilsa.*[8] In the first few pages, he summarizes the reasons for the fall of Buddhism:

> In A.D. 400, when Fa Hian [Faxian] visited India, Buddhism was still the dominant religion; but the *Vaishnavas* were already rising into consequence. In the middle of the seventh century, although the pilgrim Hwán Thsang [Xuanzang] found numerous temples of the *Saivas*, whose doctrines had been embraced by Skanda Gupta and the later princes of *Pātaliputra*, yet Buddhism was still the prevailing religion of the people. But the progress of religion is like the existence of a tree; which, after the first symptoms of decay, can neither be strengthened nor renewed. The faith of the Sākya was evidently on the decline; and though it still lingered about the holy cities of Benares and Gaya for two or three centuries later, it was no longer the honored religion of

[7] While seminal works in their own right, and highly influential to Cunningham and others, as the work of Brian Hodgson and Eugène Burnouf either focus on or extrapolate data from Newar Buddhism, are primarily concerned with the doctrines (and not the history) of Buddhism, and do not specifically address the issue of Buddhism's decline in India, they will not be discussed here. Both state simply that Buddhists were expelled from India. According to Burnouf, "Attaqué successivement dans toute l'Inde par le Brāhmanisme, il finit par disparaître entièrement des ce pays." Hodgson simply states that "furious bigots dispersed the sect." See B.H. Hodgson, *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, (Serampore, 1841), 141; E. Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme indien*, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844), 585-6.

[8] (London: Smith, Elder, 1854).

> kings and princes, protected by the strong arm of power, but the persecuted heresy of a weaker party, who were forced to hide their images under ground, and were ultimately expelled from their monasteries by fire.
>
> Buddhism had in fact become an old and worn-out creed, whose mendicant monks no longer begged their bread, but were supported by lands long since appropriated by the monasteries.[9]

Cunningham wrote this in 1854. It bears comparison to another assessment:

> Modern historians now consider that Indian Buddhism was already in severe decline at the time [of the Ghaznavid, Ghūrid, and Mamlūk raids and conquests in India] due to a range of possible factors, including lack of patronage, competition from other Indian religions, and so on, and that the upset caused to Buddhism by foreign invasions was merely the final straw that broke the ailing camel's back.[10]

These "modern historians" restate Cunningham's explanation for Buddhism's demise, ignoring one hundred and fifty years of excavation and textual scholarship. Most scholars, meanwhile, elaborated Cunningham's assessment, without questioning its essential arguments.

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[9] *idem.*, 2-3. He continues, "The *Srāmanas* and *Bhikshus* were not like those of ancient days, the learned and the wise, whose bodily abstinence and contemplative devotion, combined with practical exhortations and holy example, excited the pious wonder of the people. The modern Buddhists had relapsed into an indolent and corrupt body, who were content to spend a passive existence in the monotonous routine of monastic life...The only virtue now consisted in abstinence from evil, which was accounted equal to the performance of good. Indolent listlessness and passive indifference took the place of devout contemplation and pious abstraction; and thus the corrupt practices of modern Buddhists would seem to countenance the idea, that the more useless they became in this life, the more fitted did they consider themselves for the next."

[10] T. Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn, Pilgrimage & the Tibetan Reinvention of Buddhist India* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 163.

In his elaboration on Buddhism's decline, Cunningham admits that Buddhism "continued to linger in Benares, in Malwa, in Gujrāt; and was not finally extinguished until the eleventh or the twelfth century, when the last votaries of Buddha were expelled from the continent of India."[11] The outcome was inevitable, he thought, given the Buddhist emphasis on a single, austere path to salvation. This left open the questions of how Buddhism became popular to begin with, and why bother expelling these idlers from India. Cunningham does not explain.

The monumental *L'Inde classique*, published in 1953, represented a century of scholarship. By then, Jean Filliozat linked Buddhism's decline from the seventh century onwards to internal transformation. Adherents turned away from the Buddhist law, as well as from their own community, both lay and ordained. The rise of the Mahāyāna, and in particular the growth of tantra represented a break from the Buddha's original doctrines. The understanding of the Buddha as a *nirmāṇakāya* was no different from the *ātmān* of the brahmanical schools. Bodhisattvas became muddled with brahmanical deities. This school, having strayed far from its roots, then was impacted by assaults from outside forces – the rise of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, and the Muslim attack. Filliozat seemed dissatisfied with his own assessment, acknowledging that even

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[11] Cunningham, *The Bhilsa Topes*, 166. Again waxing poetic, Cunningham describes the situation: "the expiring religion, like a dying lamp, still burst forth with occasional brightness, and its sudden flashes of light threw a transient brilliance over the wide-spreading gloom." He is here describing Buddhist fortunes in the seventh century, in particular the erection of the *stūpa* at Sārnāth. One might also note that the seventh century saw the floruit of Dharmakīrtī, apparently just the sputtering of a dying lamp.

if Mahāyāna and tantra are regarded as internal corruptions, this failed to account for Buddhism's decline, as these "corrupt" philosophies traveled to Śrī Laṅka and Indonesia quite successfully.[12]

In addition, Filliozat also rejected another purported cause for the fall of Buddhism, the rise of Vedānta in the person of Śaṅkara, given the presence of Buddhist monastic donative inscriptions up to the eleventh century, and textual evidence indicating Buddhist presence in South India well after Śaṅkara's time. However, Filliozat agreed that the Vedānta school seriously impacted Buddhism's future.[13]

The 1202 sacking of Magadha by Bakhtiyar Khilji was, according to Filliozat, the decisive blow. Unable to recover from the destruction of universities like Vikramaśīla, Buddhists fled to Nepal and beyond.[14] Filliozat noted Buddhist traces in Kaśmīr, where Buddhist tantra was able to coexist with brahmanical cults, and Tāranātha's evidence that a certain King Caṅgalarāja was rebuilding destroyed temples. Filliozat added that "The king in question is to be placed probably in a period of eclipse of Muslim power in Bengal after 1414, the date of the attack and murder of the Muslim sovereign Shams-ad-Din by the

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[12] L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique: manuel des études indiennes*, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1953), 2: 508.

[13] *idem.*, 509.

[14] Filliozat perhaps overstates the importance of these monastic universities. Yet, as will be seen below, it was not uncommon for western scholars to view these monasteries as the lynchpins of Buddhism.

zamindar Rāja Kāns (Gaṇeśa)."[15] This is a particularly important point, because it was this king who rebuilt the Buddhist temples of Bodhgayā with the help of the subject of this study, Śāriputra. In 1414, Śāriputra was in Tibet, so the reconstruction must have occurred sometime earlier. In other words, Bakhtiyar Khilji's damage was not the final stroke for Buddhism, since razed temples could be rebuilt. Further, as we shall see below, Muslim raids left parts of Magadha intact.

Filliozat also noted that Tāranātha reports the presence of Buddhism in India until the sixteenth century at least, as well as evidence for the fourteenth-century Dhyānabhadra.[16] While he does not elaborate on the ramifications of this evidence pointing to the endurance of Indian Buddhism, the records of Tāranātha and Dhyānabhadra prevented Filliozat from pronouncing the death of Indian Buddhism *tout court.*

In his final assessment, Filliozat redefined his terms. Buddhism had not disappeared entirely, given the persistence of tantra and Mahāyāna. Attacks by Vedānta, Mīmāṃsā, and a host of other doctrines failed to obliterate the latter, while tantra survived even longer. However, Buddhism defined as the "ancient" community of monks, alluding to the Hīnayāna or Nikāya traditions, declined,

[15] *idem.*, 510: "Le roi en question est à placer probablement dans une period d'éclipse de pouvoir musulman au Bengale après 1414, date de l'attaque et du meurtre du souverain musulman Shams-ad-Din par le zamindar Rāja Kāns (Gaṇeśa)."

[16] Or Jñānabhadra (see below).

because of their susceptibility to persecution, and due to their dependence on the monastery.

More recently, Ronald Davidson picked up another of Cunningham's threads: the laxity of the religious. Like Filliozat, he found an explanation of decline in internal transformations that generated philosophical branches of Buddhism alien to the original teachings of Buddhism. Davidson also dated the beginning of the end to the seventh century, marked in philosophical terms by the end of a separate, Buddhist technical vocabulary in favor of pan-Indic philosophical discourse, and the growth of the Prāsaṅgika school[17], with its roots in Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka.

> Although Nāgārjuna may have castigated literally minded individuals as dimwitted (*mandamedhas*), it is clear that he constructed the ideal justification for the morally indolent to buttress their unwillingness to adhere to the precepts. Such indolence was ever lurking in the background, and the early convocations of Indian monks in the centuries preceding Nāgārjuna had been seen as a response to the laxity of rules.[18]

Nāgārjuna was, of course, the father of the Madhyamaka school, which, Davidson argued, negated the possibility of philosophical analysis, an extreme

[17] While certainly popular in Tibet, the Prāsaṅgika school seems to have enjoyed little if any "growth" in India. Given the strikingly different reception of this philosophy in India and Tibet, one should be wary of using one tradition as a precedent for the other, yet it is the case that since Prāsaṅgika was not a justification for moral or ethical indolence in Tibet, there is little justification for stating that it represented the basis for indolence in India.

[18] R.M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 101. As we shall see in chapter one, the nature and even existence of these convocations is open to question.

form of nihilism that turned public opinion against them.[19] Concomitantly, the monasteries lost funding due to the effect of the adverse military situation on the wellbeing of the trading guilds, a traditional source of patronage for Buddhist institutions. Thereafter, monasteries administered their lands like feudal lords, exercised judicial power, and assimilated to the outside world. This transformation resulted in the rise of Buddhist esotericism.[20]

If the adoption of a "pan-Indic" philosophical discourse signaled the end of Buddhism, then the decline should have begun with Dignāga (c. 480-540), who, rather than "adopting" this discourse, helped create a shared vocabulary and systems allowing philosophical discourse across ideational boundaries. This paradigm shift ushered in a new age of Buddhist philosophical thought, rather than being a harbinger of the end.[21] This process did not begin in the seventh century, by which time the system of Dignāga flourished with Dharmakīrti (c. 600-660), alongside critiques by the Mīmāṃsā scholar Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, and later Vacaspatimiśra in the ninth century. The fact is that Indian Buddhists were still vigorously debating philosophical points well beyond the timeframe allowed by Davidson.[22] Esoteric Buddhism coexisted with more analytical forms of Buddhist philosophy; one did not replace the other.

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[19] *idem*, 100.

[20] *idem*, 111-2.

[21] See L.W.J. van der Kuijp, "Introduction," in *Bcom ldan ral gri (1227-1305) on Indian Buddhist Logic and Epistemology: His Commentary on Dignāga's Pramāṇasamuccaya*, (forthcoming).

[22] See the critique of Davidson on this point in D. Arnold, *Buddhists, Brahmins, and Belief: Epistemology in South Asian Philosophy of Religion*, (New York: Columbia

In the same way, the Mahāyāna schools did not necessarily fare better or longer than the Hīnayāna or Nīkaya schools in India. As we know from the biography of Chag Lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197-1263/4) discussed below, these latter schools were still well represented at the Mahābodhi monastery in Bodhgayā. Indeed, they administered it.[23]

Apart from the "idle monk" theory of the demise of Buddhism, accepted interpretations also blame violent attacks on monasteries as leading to the eradication of Buddhism in India. Was that indeed the case?

Muslim Invasion

> Probably Buddhism did not yield to Islam so much by direct conversion as by a more insidious route: the sources of recruitment to the relatively unaristocratic Buddhism - for instance, villagers coming into the cities and adopting a new religion in accord with their new status - turned now rather to Islam than to an outdated Buddhism. The record of the massacre of one monastery in Bengal, together with the inherited Christian conception of Muslims as devotees of the sword, has yielded the widely repeated statement that Muslims violently "destroyed" Buddhism in India. Muslims were not friendly to it, but there is no evidence that they simply killed off all the Buddhists, or even all the Buddhist monks. It will take much active revision before such assessments of the role of Islam, based largely on

University Press, 2005), 2-7. Also, see Chapter Three for the use of debate in helping to construct Buddhist systems of meaning.

[23] A detailed history of the administration of the Mahābodhi vihāra has yet to be written. The abbacy was held by a Tibetan on at least one occasion, Dharmasvāmin noted that Theravādins held it in the thirteenth century, and it will be shown below that Śāriputra held it in the fifteenth century.

unexamined preconceptions, are eliminated even from educated mentalities.[24]

Hodgson may be exaggerating, as Muslim soldiery sacked more than one Buddhist monastery. Yet he too accepted the "philosophical failure" argument examined above, characterizing Buddhism as "outdated" and "unaristocratic" without explaining why. However, he was right to attenuate the exaggeration that Islam exterminated Buddhism, by calling for the reexamination of the history behind this idea.

As Richard Eaton has pointed out, the eight-volume *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, first published in 1849, was highly influential in shaping the idea of the Muslims as a rapacious band of thugs devoted to the sword. The editor, Sir Henry M. Elliot, said as much in his preface to this work. He also hoped that the publication would "make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our

[24] M.G.S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. 2, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 557. For an entirely different view, see A. Wink, *Al-Hind, the Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 333ff. Like Filliozat, Wink sees the destruction of monastic universities as decisive. "Most significant, by the late twelfth and in the thirteenth century, was doubtlessly the destruction by the Turks of the Buddhist monasteries of Uddanapura, Vikramashila and Nalanda, all in Eastern India. The Turkish invasions proved fatal to the existence of Buddhism as an organized religion in the country of its origin. Here again, conversion played no role. The Buddhist religion disappeared from North India because it had been almost exclusively concentrated in a few major monastic centers and these centers were destroyed by the Muslims" (*idem*, 333).

rule."[25] This is rather like Ceasar's description of the barbarity of the Gallic tribes before they were massacred by Rome's civilizing force.

Whether influenced by Elliot's work, or as a matter of ideology, two literary works by Sourindro Mohun Tagore, composed in Sanskrit and English, and set to music, reveal how the negative depiction of Muslims was being used to bolster the legitimacy of British rule. In his 1875 publication, fully five of his *Fifty Stanzas in Sanskrita, in Honor of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales*, depicted the Muslims as

> The Mussulmans, having conquered India, subjected us to every kind of misery. Fell, relentless and wicked, they robbed us of our honor, wealth, and women. They carried off by force the daughters of the *A'ryas* for their wives – *A'ryas* who, if they but accidentally touched the shadow of the Mussulman, deemed themselves quite unfit for performing religious duties, and considered the object of their existence frustrated. By them were ground down the images of all the deities that occupied and consecrated the places of pilgrimage in India – deities through whose worship, the venerable *A'ryas* were emancipated from the evils of mortality. By them also, all out *vedās* and *shastras* were burnt to ashes, knaves were made to thrive, and our religion made almost extinct. By thy [the Prince of Wale's] ancestors, the insolent and profligate Mussulman princes were at once eradicated, and we were thus delivered from their terrors, as in the days of yore, men were delivered by the gods from the dread of the demons.[26]

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[25] H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, 8 vols., (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, n.d.), 1:xxii. Also cited in R. Eaton, "Temple Desecration in Pre-Modern India," *Frontline* 17, 25 (2000): 63.

[26] S.M. Tagore (1840-1914), *Fifty Stanzas in Sanskrita, in Honor of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales*, (Calcutta: I.C. Bose, 1875), 109-119.

In his *Victoria-gītika*[27], Queen Elizabeth and the East India Company (139), General Clive (213), George the Third (225), Cornwallis (239), and others are all honored for their role in delivering India from Muslim rule.

There is no question that the Muslim incursions from 986 until the founding of the Delhi sultanate in 1206 were largely rapacious. The idea that Buddhists were somehow singled out is unlikely. The aim was wealth and power, not religious conversion or extermination. After the founding of the Delhi Sultanate (1206-1526), temple desecration continued, but in a manner no different from the looting that had been carried out since at least the seventh century. The purpose of this was political prestige. Destroying a temple effectively severed the link between an area's political hierarchy and the presiding deity, and looting the central deity indicated a transfer of power to the conqueror.[28] The temples were sites of political contestation and income production, in addition to their religious purposes, for centuries before the arrival of the Muslims.

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[27] S.M. Tagore, *Victoria-gītika, or, Sanskrit Verses, Celebrating the Deeds and the Virtues of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Victoria and her Renowned Predecessors*, (Calcutta: I.C. Bose, 1875).

[28] Eaton, "Temple Desecration in Pre-Modern India," 65; Wink, *Al-Hind*, 2: 294ff, especially 308-9. The thieving of holy images and relics is widespread in both Asia and Europe. The travels of the Emerald Buddha through Thailand, and the unwillingness of the Lhasa Jobo Śākyamuni to leave Lhasa demonstrate the pervasive notion that the moving of a holy image was a movement of authoritative power. While there is evidence that the pillage of some temples by Muslim soldiers effectively ended the utility of those temples for Hindus, this is not true in other cases, such as with the Sūrya temple at Chitorgarh which was defaced and later rededicated to Kālī (see Wink, *Al-Hind*, 326). See below, note 28, for Buddhist evidence of rebuilding damaged sites.

Thus, while we can see that Buddhist monasteries such as Nālandā, Odantapuri, and Vikramaśīla were targeted by the commander Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1202,[29] there is no evidence that the Buddhists present were exterminated, or even that monks did not return to these sites for renewed patronage.[30] What we do know is that despite these raids to their neighbors, the independent kingdom of Magadha survived and continued to patronize Buddhism until at least 1270.[31] Certainly, after the Delhi Sultanate became established, temple patronage included both Muslim and non-Muslim holy sites. Eaton points out that in the fourteenth century, Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq rebuilt a Śiva temple in Kalyana, and authorized anyone who paid the poll-tax the right to build a temple in Muslim territory. In Kashmir, Sultan Shihab al-Din (1355-73) refused to melt down Hindu and Buddhist images, stating that royalty should patronize

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[29] *ibid.*, 68-9. Interestingly, Eaton believes that these Buddhist sites were cut off from the people, relying solely on royal patronage for support. He seems to agree with Hodgson that Buddhist had become obsolete, though perhaps not "unaristocratic," since it was only the aristocracy that supported it. One might wonder why a religion with no support from the laity would receive royal patronage, or how it could maintain a corpus of monks.

[30] The Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra provides evidence that while invading armies often devastated areas such as Somapura, those who fled, or their disciples, often returned and rebuilt the destroyed temples. Cf. N.G. Majumdar, "Nalanda Inscription of Vipulasrimitra," *Epigraphia Indica* 21 (1931): 97-101. As we will see in his biography, Śāriputra encountered a ravaged Mahābodhi temple complex, but set about rebuilding temples and gathering royal patronage for further repairs.

[31] B.P. Sinha, "Fresh Light on the Lakshmaṇasena Era and Connected Problems," *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society* 42, 1 (1956): 79. Sinha further states, "What happened to the [Sena] dynasty after [Buddhasena] can be only imagined. It must have finally succumbed to the persistent Muslim invaders" (*ibid.*). He does not cite any sources for this conclusion.

religion.[32] The latter case indicates that Buddhism was still being practiced in the fourteenth century in Kashmir. Muslim rulers knew that a sustainable Indo-Muslim state required them to come to terms with a multi-religious population. The question is whether Buddhism survived long enough to witness renewed patronage as part of this new state.

The argument that the Muslim invasions were a sufficient cause for the decline of Buddhism is flawed, though they were definitely a contributing factor. Yet the declining popularity of the idea that the Muslim invasions destroyed Buddhism made the notion that Buddhism had become philosophically untenable more widespread. This brings us back to the above quote by Huber, that is, right back where we started with Cunningham in the nineteenth century. Contrary to Huber's view, this is merely a reversion to a – perhaps slightly updated – nineteenth-century idea. Cunningham and his followers never argued that the Muslim invasion alone destroyed Buddhism. Like Huber, they pointed to internal changes, lack of patronage, and competition from other religious and philosophical systems.

Little real evidence suggests that Buddhism was in "severe decline" before the Muslim raids. Although usually not cited, the relative lack of textual production by Indian Buddhists after the twelfth century might indicate a

[32] R. Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," *Frontline* 17, 26 (2000): 70. This detail is not mentioned in Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅginī*. The fifteenth-century Zain-ul-Abdin also encouraged the revival of Hindu customs and rituals. See J.C. Dutt, *Medieval Kashmir: Being a Reprint of the Rajataranginis of Jonaraja, Shrivara and Shuka*, (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers & Distributors, 1993), 5, 37-8. On Hindu-Muslim accommodation, see also Wink, *Al-Hind*, 319, 322-3.

decline, but ongoing research and new finds are changing our perceptions.[33] As noted above, the Muslim raids began in the late tenth century and lasted over two centuries before the establishment of the Delhi Sultanate, impacting Buddhist centers in Bihar only at the beginning of the Delhi Sultanate. Therefore, quite apart from being the ailing camel suggested by Huber, waiting for the final blow of military incursion, Buddhism – even in highly institutionalized forms – survived two centuries of marauding armies.[34]

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[33] This is especially true with reference to the Sāṃmitīya school, now thought to be in existence in India until the fifteenth century. See P. Skilling, "On the School-affiliation of the 'Patna *Dhammapada*,'" *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 23 (1997): 103. While Skilling notes that although there are Tibetan sources for the late existence of the Sāṃmitīya school, such as the presence of Lokottara in the 1460s, he reparts that no texts attributed to this school exist in an Indian language. Recently, Albrecht Hanisch has found manuscripts attributable to this school, and has hypothesized that the so-called "Arrowhead Script" was used exclusively by the Sāṃmitīyas. See A. Hanisch, "Progress in Deciphering the So-called 'Arrow-head' Script Allowing Access to Sarvarakṣita's *Maṇicūḍajātaka*, a Text of the Buddhist Sāṃmitīya School," *Journal of Buddhist Studies* 4 (2006): 109–161; A. Hanisch, "The Contents of the Extant Portions of the *Candrālaṃkāra*, an Unknown Commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, as Preserved in a Manuscript Fragment Written in the 'Arrow-head' Script," *Saṃbhāṣā, Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism* 26 (2007): 127–161; A. Hanisch, "Sarvarakṣita's *Maṇicūḍajātaka*: Reproduction of the Codex Unicus with Diplomatic Transcript And Palaeographic Introduction to the Bhaikṣukī Script," in *Manuscripta Buddhica 1*, ed. Francesco Sferra, (Roma: IsIAO, 2008), 195-342. Giuseppe Tucci noted some time ago the late existence of Buddhist activity in Orissa and Bengal, evidenced through their presence in Bengali literature in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, as well as evidence of the 1580 inscription mentioning the construction of a Buddhist temple. See G. Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century," *Indian Historical Quarterly* 7, 4 (1931): 683.

[34] How many of the violent factions sweeping India during this period were composed of Muslim soldiers, and how many of other factions, is an essential topic of further study.

After the sacking of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla, these sites continued to function, as witnessed by Chag Lo tsā ba and Dhyānabhadra. Perhaps the most telling aspect of Chag Lo tsā ba's biography on this point is when Bodhgayā was about to suffer an attack. The king and people fled into the jungle, then returned and rebuilt.[35] This perhaps became the *modus vivendi* for people living in that situation.

THE SPUTTERING FLAME

There have been various ways of coping with evidence opposing the early demise of Buddhism. Cunningham, confused by Buddhism's survival well into the seventh century, nonetheless saw this as the last flickering of a dying lamp. This lamp was doing a lot of flickering after the seventh century. Filliozat, confronted by the conflicting evidence of people like Dhyānabhadra and Sahajaśrī, called them "last vestiges," even though these products of institutional education lived centuries apart.

Filliozat also pursued another tactic, by redefining the term Buddhism. Mahāyāna and tantra may have survived, but this was not really "Buddhism." Buddhism *qua* the unadulterated Buddhism of monastery-bound mendicants was destroyed. This argument was particularly lame since it privileged the one

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[35] G.N. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo tsa-ba chos-rje-dpal) a Tibetan Monk Pilgrim. Original Tibetan Text Deciphered and Translated By George Roerich; With a Historical and Critical Introduction by A.S. Altekar*, (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), 64-5.

facet of Buddhist practice most susceptible to destruction and separated it from relationships of patronage, lay praxis, and intra-religious discussion. The argument, however, remains popular with scholars like Huber forced to dismiss the significance of late travelers such as Śāriputra, Vanaratna (1384-1468), and Buddhaguptanātha (1514-1610).[36]

Huber does not really engage with the presence of Śāriputra and Vanaratna, simply stating that they and Buddhaguptanātha were all closely associated with Vajrāsana (modern Bodhgayā), their accounts of the site's state of repair implausible, due to its evident destruction. Actually, Vanaratna and Buddhaguptanātha are not closely associated with Vajrāsana. They are recorded as having gone there, neither one dwelling on the site's state.[37] It is Śāriputra who is closely associated with Vajrāsana, having been abbot of the Mahābodhi *vihāra* for three years. As we shall see, his biographies make it very clear that this site was in a dilapidated state when he arrived.

Buddhaguptanātha is the real focus of Huber's criticism. Before the advent of these biographies, there was little that could be said about Śāriputra. Contrariwise, Vanaratna has a strong historical presence because of his role as the guru of the distinguished historian 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal. Given his

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[36] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn,* 170-1.

[37] For Buddhagupta's visit, see Tāranātha, (Kun dga' snying po, 1575-1635), *Grub chen bu ddha gu p ta'i rnam thar rje btsun nyid kyi zhal lung las gzhan du rang rtog gi dri mas ma sbags pa'i yi ge yang dag pa'o,* in *Collected Writings,* vol. 17 (tsa), (Leh: Mentsi Sherig Pendzö 1982-1987), 558 [= H. Decleer, Jonang Tāranātha's 'Life of Buddhagupta-nātha," (unpublished ms), 20]. For Vanaratna at Vajrāsana, see 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal (1392-1481), *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam thar*, (Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1985), 23b5.

prolific contributions to the Tibetan Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur alone,[38] as well as the ample evidence from his biographies, there is little doubt that he was a Buddhist "dyed in the cloth." Buddhaguptanātha was another matter, since his late arrival made it relatively easier for Huber to brand him a crypto-Buddhist. As we will see, however, the study of Śāriputra provides a crucial link between the more "normative" Buddhism of the earlier periods and the *haṭha*-influenced Buddhism of Buddhaguptanātha.

The brusque dismissal of these late travelers is in itself not a problem; Tibetans themselves could be quite dismissive of so-called "yogis." The more serious problem is that figures like Śāriputra, Vanaratna, and Buddhagupta-nātha were all accepted as authentic Buddhists by discriminating Tibetans. Therefore, when scholars ultimately dismiss them as frauds, they suggest that these travelers' Tibetan and Chinese interlocutors were too ignorant and too naïve to discern a real Indian Buddhist from a non-Buddhist imposter. These Tibetan "dupes" are the leading intellectual lights of classical Tibet.[39]

[38] See the list of forty-six works ranging from *vinaya* to *tantra* attributed to Vanaratna's efforts compiled by F.-K. Ehrhard, *Life and Travels of Lo-chen bsod-nams rgya-mtsho*, (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002), 113-18. Śāriputra, Śāntigupta, and Buddhaguptanātha have also left their marks in the *Bstan 'gyur*, though not to the degree of Vanaratna.

[39] Iain Sinclair has brought it to my attention that at least one of Buddhaguptanātha's Tibetan contemporaries did characterize the Indian as a fraud, but this may have been part of a larger attack on Tāranātha's credibility rather than a sincere assessment of Buddhaguptanātha's religious affiliation. This underscores the point that properly assessing these Indian travelers was a serious matter, as being wrong resulted in one's own credibility being subject to question.

Tāranātha receives the brunt of these attacks for providing a history of Buddhism in India well past the thirteenth century. "As Simon Digby has so aptly put it, [Tāranātha's] writing typically 'expresses the proselytizing belief that India could be reclaimed to Buddhism,'"[40] which begs the question as to who would proselytize whom. Tāranātha was not trying to convince Tibetans that Indian Buddhism survived past the thirteenth century, as living examples of this tradition were regularly visiting Tibet, as we shall note below.

Huber continues,

> Tāranātha considered that particular lineages of the Nāth order who were wandering ascetics practicing Tantra were the surviving Buddhists of India. While it is beyond our scope here to deal with the larger and complex question of Tāranātha's ideas about the survival of some form of Buddhism in post-thirteenth-century India, various scholars have investigated these claims and found them at best exaggerated, confused, or doubtful.[41]

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[40] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 206, citing an unpublished manuscript by the late Simon Digby, "Travels of the Ācāryas in the Sixteenth Century According to Tāranātha," (2004).

[41] Huber, *ibid.* The scholarship Huber refers to comprises the above cited unpublished manuscript of Simon Digby, and D.G. White's *The Alchemical Body: Siddha Traditions in Medieval India*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 107-8, 403 n. 144, 148. While I do not have access to Digby's article, I have seen White's argument, and am left unconvinced. Contrary to White's allegations (403 n. 144), Tāranātha never claims that the *nātha* lineages were originally all Buddhist, but that at a later stage, very few remained Buddhist. He also never claims that Gorakṣa was originally named Anaṅgavajra, son of Pāla king Gopāla (*ibid.*). This is found in a footnote by Chattopadhyaya and Schiefner, who translated Tāranātha's *History* into English and German, respectively. See D. Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004), 227 n. 23; A. Schiefner, *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, (St. Petersburg: Commissionäre der Kaiserlichen akademie der wissenschaften, 1869), 323. Apropos of Anaṅgavajra and Gopāla, these translators are citing the biographies of the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas. When White argues about the improbability of Gorakṣa living at the time of the ninth-century king Gopāla, he is arguing with Chattopadhyaya (who relies on Schiefner), not Tāranātha. In fact, the former are merely guessing at the

Tāranātha does not suggest that these Buddhist *nātha* lineages were the only surviving remnants of Indian Buddhism after the thirteenth century. He does state that one of his gurus, Buddhaguptanātha, belonged to this sect, but makes no such assertion in his description of Śāriputra, although as will be shown, Śāriputra himself had teachers who belonged to the *nātha* lineage, in particular Golenātha. These were certainly not his teachers of Buddhist orthodoxy. In his secret biography, Śāriputra strongly affirms his guru's rigorous moral code.[42] He went for teachings from Golenātha and other *yogīśvara*s after being well trained in the *vinaya* and *abhidharma* traditions.

Further, as the biographies Śāriputra wrote while in Tibet show, he considered Virūpakṣa/Virūpa a *nātha* as well. In the *nātha* handbooks, such as the *Haṭhapradīpika*, which has no explicit sectarian affiliation to either Buddhist

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Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan *sa skyong*, named as the father of Anaṅgavajra in the biographies of the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas (*not* in Tāranātha's *History*). *Sa skyong* could also translated simply as *bhūpāla, mahīpāla*, or any other synonym of *nṛpa* or "king" that means "land protector." In addition, other editions of the biographies of these *siddha*s give "Devapāla" as the name of Cauraṅgī's father [Tshe dbang rin chen, ed., *Grub chen brgyad cu'i rnam thar dang zhal thang*, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2005), 15]. White's questions should therefore be aimed at Schiefner rather than Tāranātha. Anaṅgavajra is probably a simple confusion for Cauraṅgī, whose life is very much intertwined with that of Gorakṣa. In the biographies of the *siddha*s, including the one Śāriputra wrote of Gorakṣa, it is Cauraṅgī whose father's cuts his limbs off, explaining his nickname *yan/rkang lag med pa* or Anaṅga. Thus, White's judgment that "Tāranātha gets Gorakṣa's legend wrong" (108) in confusing Gorakṣa with Cauraṅgī (108, 404 n. 148) is erroneous.

[42] See discussion of Śāriputra's esoteric biography in chapter four.

or brahmanical groups[43], Virūpakṣa, Gorakṣanātha, Cauraṅgī, and others are all found as lineage holders. In addition, the biography of Śāriputra's Tibetan disciple, the aristocrat Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags pa bzang po (1395-1475; hereafter Byang bdag), openly states that he taught the court *prāṇayāma* and other "teachings of Gorakṣa[nātha]."[44] Evidently, the court found these practices and their lineage entirely acceptable within a Buddhist framework.[45]

Other post-thirteenth-century Indian Buddhist visitors to Tibet professed no affiliation with the *nātha*s. One of the important elements of this study of Śāriputra shows how the development of Indian Buddhism informed the character of Buddhaguptanātha. This study and the work on Buddhaguptanātha by Hubert Decleer[46] are starting points for further

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[43] The *nātha* lineages comprised members of multiple castes and religions, including many Muslin yogins, until at least the end of the nineteenth century. See W.R. Pinch, *Warrior Ascetics and Indian Empires, 1500-2000*, (Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2006), 10.

[44] See discussion in Chapter Six.

[45] Of course, what is considered by a royal court as acceptable may not necessarily be Buddhist. Yet, the biography in question portrays Byang bdag as an exemplary (and scholarly) Buddhist ruler, and therefore would likely elide reference to Byang bdag knowingly engaging in non-Buddhist practices. The fact that someone like Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182-1251) mentions the liberation of Gorakṣanātha alongside the liberation of Nāgārjuna, Lūhipa, and Virūpakṣa in his *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos* is a more telling indication of the ecclesiastical acceptance of these practices. See Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions Among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems*, trans. J.D. Rhoton, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 109.

[46] H. Decleer, "Jonang Tāranātha's *Life of Buddhagupta-nātha*," unpublished ms. David Templeman is also studying members of the *nātha* cult who self-identified as Buddhist. See D. Templeman, "Becoming Indian: A Study of the Life of the 15-16th Century Tibetan Lama, Tāranātha," (PhD diss., Monash University, 2008).

investigations of the links made between Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups that collectively comprised the *nātha* lineages, or the Buddhist interest in *nātha* practices. Simple dismissal of these characters' importance to salvage the notion that Indian Buddhism died out in the thirteenth century serves no purpose.

Increasingly, denying Indian Buddhism's survival creates more problems than it solves. The real questions are how and when it finally disappeared from India. Historians like D.C. Sircar argue that it survived in "family lineages,"[47] even if Buddhism's institutional form disappeared sometime before the eighteenth century. If a date were needed to mark Buddhism's demise, the fifteenth/sixteenth to eighteenth[48] centuries interval provides one marker. Such decline would be neither drastic, dramatic, nor cataclysmic, but a more even downward slope with periodic resurgences.

One of the significant contributions of the present study is that it establishes an Indian Buddhism that fits all the demands of the aforementioned scholars. This work does not argue the points about if non-institutionalized

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[47] D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971).

[48] In particular, the year 1752. This is the date that Bsod nams rab rgyas traveled to India and saw that Bodhgayā was bereft of Buddhists. See his biography, *Phags pa'i yul dbus dpal rdo rje gdan du garsha'i rnal 'byor pa bsod nams rab rgyas gyi legs par mjal ba'i lam yig dad pa'i snye ma*, (seven folios) Toyo Bunko ms. no. 285-2446. It is summarized in Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 183-188. With respect to the Mahābodhi complex at Vajrāsana, a Śaiva monastery was evidently built there in the early seventeenth century, Giri Śaivas having occupied the site since 1590. Therefore, this era may have also represented the eclipse of (institutionalized) Buddhism in India.

tantric practitioners can be considered proper "Buddhists," or if Buddhism in Nepal or Kashmir fits under the aegis of "Indian Buddhism." These points must be debated, but Śāriputra's life allows for a different tactic. He embodies a system of Buddhist practice that was based on a *saṅgha* of monks following the *vinaya*. Indeed, many of the transmissions he gave in Tibet were *vinaya* texts, if his biography, *Rosary of Jewels*, is to be believed. His was an institutionalized Buddhism, set in Vajrāsana, the navel of the Buddhist world and undeniably part of India. There is therefore no possibility of decrying his credentials as an "Indian Buddhist."

FRESH EVIDENCE

Instead of further elaborating Cunningham's problematic hypotheses, a fresh look is needed at some of the great discoveries made since the nineteenth century in the field of Indian and Buddhism's history. This study will present a brief overview of some of the Indian Buddhist travelers who were recorded after the supposed demise of Buddhism in the thirteenth century, to note the near-constant presence of Indian Buddhists – albeit in small numbers – in the major cities of Tibet and China well into the fifteenth century.

Case #1: Dhyānabhadra/Jñānabhadra, aka Śūnyādiśya[49] (1254? - 1363)

Dhyānabhadra was first noted by Arthur Waley in his 1932 article on the Korean biography of this Indian traveler who wandered through China and Korea in the 1320s-1360s.[50] Dhyānabhadra's biography bears certain similarities with Śāriputra's exoteric biography. While Waley thought Dhyānabadra was "definitely anti-Tantric,"[51] more likely he did not believe that tantra was the

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[49] Chinese Chanxian 禪賢 (Dhyānabhadra) or Zhikong 指空 (Śūnyādiśya), as given in his biography *Fanseng Zhikong chanshi zhuankao* 梵僧指空禪師傳考, T2089.51: 0982c20. These are translations of his Sanskrit name, which is transliterated in the same line as 提納薄陀尊者 (*Dinabotuo*). The line reads: 提納薄陀尊者禪賢號指空 "The eminent Dinabotuo, [i.e.] Dhyānabhadra, called Śūnyadiśya." In Chinese, this "Dinabotuo" became the unusual "Dhyānabhadra." It is also possible that "Dinabotuo" is a transliteration of the more common "Jñānabhadra," perhaps the same Jñānabhadra who passed through Tibet in 1333. See L. van der Kuijp and K. Schaeffer, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The* Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od *of Bcam ldan ral gri*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 64, (Cambridge, MA: Department of Sanskrit, 2009), 41. The reasons for adopting the name Dhyānabhadra are unclear, perhaps having something to do with the popularity of Chan Buddhism at that time, which certainly colors his biography.

[50] A. Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," 355-76. Waley's article was taken into brief account by Demiéville's and Filliozat's contributions to Renou, *L'Inde classique*, 2: 427, 510. See now, Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2004), 72-4. Two Yunnan inscriptions dated to 1321 and 1478 were recently brought to light by Ronald Dziwenka. They mention the role of Dhyānabhadra in the construction of the Zhengyu temple. Both are included in S. Thapa, "Transmission of Indian Buddhist Thought in East Asia Historiography: Dhyānabhadra (Chi-Gong) and Buddhism in 14th Century Yunnan and Koryo Kingdom" (paper presented at the third world conference of Korean studies, Cheju, Korea, October, 2006). If Dhānabhadra was in Yunnan in 1321, this would mean he resided in China for over forty years, possibly making more than one trip to Tibet if he is identical to the Jñānabhadra mentioned above.

[51] Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," 356.

cure for all sins, such as murder, and emphasized compassion instead.[52] Śāriputra is quiet on the subject of tantra, simply stating his ignorance of magic. However, both practiced what might be considered thaumaturgy, by producing rain. Dhyānabhadra states that "I burnt incense and recited a single incantation which at once produced a heavy fall of rain that lasted for three days."[53] Śāriputra brings rain by worshipping relics of the Buddha. This worship culminates in the arrival of a snake, which also worships the relics, and is the presumed cause of the copious rain which followed. Dhyānabhadra also brings water via the intercession of a serpent.[54]

Dhyānabhadra was supposedly from Kapilavastu, of royal stock. After his ordination, he studied at Nālandā, later visiting Śrī Laṅka and the Cola kingdom, which he found to have a Buddhist king at the time,[55] as well as Jālandhara. He eventually traveled to the Yuan court of Toγon Temür (1320-1370) via Tibet, where along the way he met another North Indian Buddhist

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[52] This view is explained in Waley's translation of Dhyānabhadra's biography. Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," 368.

[53] Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," 366. Dhyānabhadra is credited with two Avalokiteśvara *dhāraṇī* texts found in Chinese transcription in the *Zhongguo Mizong Dadian bubian* 中國密宗大典補編, (Beijing: Zhongguo Zangxue chubanshe, 1993), 6: 685, 687. Cf. Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 73. His involvement with the Avalokiteśvara cult may explain his earlier noted preference for compassion over murder remedied by tantric practice.

[54] Waley, "New Light on Buddhism in Medieval India," 370.

[55] It is possible that Dhyānabhadra visited the Cola kingdom before it finally lost power to the Pandyas with the end of Rajaraja Chola III's reign in 1279. It is also possible that some of the subsequent Colas retained some more local form of power. In the next chapter, we will have occasion to note the Thai records of the Colas at this late period as well.

monk referred to simply as (the) Mahāpaṇḍita. The two traveled through Tibet together for some time. At the Yuan court, Dhyānabhadra won the approval of the discriminating Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋, who went on to overthrow the Yuan dynasty and become the first Ming emperor, Taizu 太組 (r. 1368-98). Zhu was generally unimpressed by Chinese monks, but singled out Dhyānabhadra for special praise.

Despite its evident importance to the history of Indian Buddhism, as well as the religious histories of the countries Dhyānabhadra visited, neither this article, nor Dhāyanabhadra himself, disposed of the notion that Buddhism had died out in India in the ninth century. There was scant evidence in English for his existence or the authenticity of his biography. He went largely unnoticed, and joined Tāranātha's *History of Indian Buddhism,* available in German translation since 1869,[56] as another unrealized possibility to all but a few.

A new mindset regarding Buddhism's survival was generated by the biography of Chag Lo tsā ba, whose English translation[57] was a milestone. Tibetan sources, such as Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, were being used as early as 1918 by Indian scholars to adjust the dating of the Lakṣmaṇasena era in conjunction with the Janibigha inscription.[58] Based on these sources, scholars

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[56] Schiefner, trans., *Târanâtha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien.* While Schiefner's translation certainly made a large impact following its publication, it did not change the prevailing notion regarding the timeline of Buddhism's decline in India.

[57] Roerich, *The Biography of Dharmasvāmin.*

[58] Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, "Importance of the Jānībighā Inscription of the Year 83 of the Lakṣmaṇa-Sena Era," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 4 (1918):

had already come to the conclusion that Buddhism survived in Magadha until at least the beginning of the thirteenth century. With Roerich's English translation of Chag Lo tsā ba's biography, the Janibigha inscription (and the Lakṣmaṇasena era) could be adjusted to an even later date, allowing for the conclusion that Buddhasena – a patron of Buddhism if not actually a Buddhist – reigned in Magadha with Bodhgayā as his capital between 1234 and 1270 AD.[59] Since the publication of this English translation in 1959, the academic community has accepted the thirteenth century as the *terminus ante quem* of Buddhism in India based on the dates of Chag Lo tsā ba's visit.

The thirteenth century became the new "end of Buddhism" largely because Chag Lo tsā ba traveled to India in 1234-36. While this biography does depict a Buddhism in decline, it is by no means extinguished. Chag Lo tsā ba witnessed Buddhists flee from the Mahābodhi complex in the face of raiders, but he also witnessed them return. From the Bodhgayā inscription dated to VS 1420s, we know that Buddhists occupied this site until at least AD 1283, the date of the inscription.[60] In addition, Chag Lo tsā ba reports studying at Nālandā, though the institution was in a damaged state.[61]

266-72; H. Pandey, "The Janibigha Inscription," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 4 (1918): 273-280. Oddly, Jayaswal concludes that "the Buddhist guardianship of the [Mahābodhi] shrine seems to have come to an end in the fourteenth century" (272). He does not cite any sources for this hypothesis.

[59] B.P. Sinha, "Fresh Light on the Lakshmaṇasena Era and Connected Problems," 79. Sinha used a draft translation by Roerich of Chag Lo tsā ba's biography.

[60] Niradsandhu Sanyal, "A Buddhist Inscription From Bodh-Gaya of the Reign of Jayaccandradeva - V.S. 142X," *Indian Historical Quarterly* 5 (1929): 14-30. Sanyal dates this inscription to AD 1183. However, we now know that the Vikrama

Case #2: Sahajaśrī (Sahezanshili 薩曷拶室哩, 撒哈咱失哩 , aka Jushengjixiang 具生吉祥, d. 1381)

This late Indian Buddhist traveler has received little scholarly attention.[62] The only English-language reports seem to be by Jan Yün-Hua,[63] Hoong Teik-Toh,[64] and Kuan Guang.[65] Based largely on the biographical notice written by his Chinese disciple Zhiguang 智光 (d. 1435),[66] it is known that

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Samvat differs from the western calendar by only fifty-eight years, thus rendering VS 142X as AD late 1360s to early 1370s (Michael Witzel, personal communication 3/3/10).

[61] While Chag Lo tsā ba was studying there, it came under Turuṣka attack once again. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, 29-35 (31a-38a), trans., 90-97.

[62] In addition to the studies presented here, perhaps the earliest notice in a western language was made by Demiéville in Renou, *L'Inde classique*, 427.

[63] Jan Yün-Hua, "Paṇḍita," *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. II, ed. L.C. Goodrich and C. Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1111-1113; Jan Yün-Hua, "Pandita Sahajasri: A Forgotten Torchbearer of Indian Civilization," *Viśvabhāratī patrikā* 8, (1967), 93-103 (in Hindi).

[64] Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 74-6.

[65] Kuan Guang, "Sahajaśrī: A Fourteenth-Century Indian Buddhist Missionary to China," *Religions of South Asia* 1, 2 (2007): 203-215. Guang's article should be treated with caution, as it is highly speculative, though perhaps useful in its consideration of Zhiguang.

[66] Zhiguang 智光, *Xitian Bandida chanshi zhilue* 西天班的答禪師誌略, (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1976), 1216-1220. Zhiguang himself went on to receive the title Daguoshi 大國師, "Grand State Preceptor," similar to the title awarded to Śāriputra Dashan guoshi 大善國師 in 1424 (see chapter six). Whether the offices of Daguo shi and Dashan guoshi were equivalent, and the relationship between Zhiguang and Śāriputra are unclear.

Sahajaśrī was born in Kapilavastu and traveled to Kaśmir for ordination. His monastic training bears startling resemblances to that of Śāriputra, including their initial training in the five sciences (*pañcavidyā*; 五明), proficiency in debate, and eventual turn toward meditation. Mañjuśrī was held in special esteem by both, and it was the desire to visit the site of Mañjuśrī's manifestation that prompted Sahajaśrī to leave Kaśmir (with twelve others) for Wutai Shan in China.[67]

The route Sahajaśrī traveled is said to have taken him through the northern route, passing through the Turk, Kucha, and Turfan kingdoms. Apparently, the Yuan emperor Toγon Temür got wind of his arrival before Sahajaśrī made it to Wutai Shan. The emperor sent messengers to bring him to the capital at Dadu (later Beijing) in 1364. He therefore narrowly missed Dhyānabhadra, who died the year before.

After the collapse of the Yuan dynasty, Sahajaśrī moved with the political winds to Nanjing, where he met and had cordial relations with the Hongwu emperor, who honored him with a silver seal, titles, and offices. According to the *Ming shilu*, his first appearance at the new Ming court was on January 14, 1371.[68] On December 6, 1374, he was given the title Shanshi Chanshi

[67] Indian monks had been traveling to Wutai Shan, the sacred site associated with Mañjuśrī, since the time of *Śākyamitra (d. 569). For Indian pilgrims at Wutai Shan, see Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400*. Vol. 4, *Asian Interactions and Comparisons*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 79-86. As Sen notes, Indian pilgrims often composed short travel guidebooks for other Indians traveling to Wutai Shan through Central Asia, including tips on where to stay along the way.

[68] *Ming shilu* 3: 1165.

善世禪師, and in the fall of 1376 was given permission to visit Putuo Shan, the sacred island-mountain of Avalokiteśvara off the northwest coast of Zhejiang province. It is unclear if he ever made it to Wutai Shan.[69] As will be shown, Śāriputra was also prevented from traveling to Wutai Shan towards the end of his life. Sahajaśrī died in June, 1381.

After his death, two of his disciples, Kumāraśrī and *Samudraśrī (Samudanshili 薩木丹實哩) requested permission to travel back to India, a third – Devadasa (Dawadasi 低哇答思) – staying in China. Permission granted, they presumably made it back to Kaśmīr.[70]

It is generally thought that Sahajaśrī traveled to China via the northern Silk Road, and not through Tibet. This may not have been the case, as he has left his mark in Tibet via his contribution to the Peking and Snar thang *Bstan 'gyur*, a Tārā *sādhana* called *Sgrol ma nor sbyin ma'i sgrub thabs*.[71] The last line of

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[69] Toh states that he did not. See Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 76. Guan ("Sahajaśrī," 209) states that Sahajaśrī did reside at Wutai Shan in the dynastic interim, but does not provide a clear source for this information. When later noting Zhiguang leaving Wutai Shan, he refers to two sources: Song Lian 宋濂 (1310-1381), *Song Lian Quanji* 宋濂全集, ed. Luo Yuexin 羅月霞, (Hangzhou: Zhejiang gu ji chu ban she, 1999), 2: 562; Shen Defu 沈德符 (1577-1642), *Wanli ye huo bian* 萬曆野獲編, 30 juan, (Taibei: Wei wen tu shu chu ban she, 1976), 5: 1791-1794. I was unable to find any mention of Sahajaśrī, Zhiguang, or Wutai Shan in either of these sources.

[70] Jan Yün-Hua, "Paṇḍita," 1112. Therefore it is also possible that Kumaraśrī translated the Tibetan work in the *Bstan'gyur* on his way back to India.

[71] Sahajaśrī, *Sgrol ma nor sbyin ma'i sgrub thabs* (*Dhanadātārāsādhana*), trans. Nam mkha' bzang po and Kumāraśrībhadra. PEKING 4853, rgyud 'grel, zu 160a5-163a4 [vol. 86, 116-117]; NARTHANG zu 157b7-161a3 [vol. 84, 314-321]; GOLDEN 2852, zu 210a1-214a2 [vol. 84, 419-427].

this *sādhana* states, "The *sādhana* of Dhanadātārā was completed by Mahāpaṇḍita Sahajaśrī."[72] The colophon then continues:

> Having gathered all necessities from Sne gdong Nang so in accordance with the order of the lord of *dharma*, the holy guru Spyan snga rin po che Grags pa byang chub rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po - who is ornamented with the immeasurable superb intuition and compassion - and [in accordance with] the remark of Dpon po Grags pa rin chen, in that very place, the Kaśmiri Mahāpaṇḍita, Kumāraśrībhadra, and the Tibetan translator Nam mkha' bzang po translated [this].
>
> The lineage of this [*sādhana*] is: Tārā, Mahāpaṇḍita Sahajaśrī, Mahāpaṇḍita Kumāraśrī, the great translator [Stag tshang] Nam mkha' bzang po, [and] the great translator [Bo dong Lo tsā ba] Thugs rje dpal.[73]

This proves that the Kumāraśrī who worked on the translation was a disciple of Sahajaśrī. Chinese sources confirm that the fourteenth-century Sahajaśrī who traveled to the Ming court also had a disciple named Kumaraśrī (Gumalashili 古麻辣室哩),[74] and that both were from Kaśmīr. Further, we know that a Nam mkha' bzang po from Lho brag was active in the fourteenth century, and had a

[72] *sgrol ma nor sbyin ma'i bgrub thabs paṇḍi ta chen po sa ha dza shrī mdzad pa rdzogs so//*

[73] *mkhyen rab dang thugs rje rab kyi phul du byung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa chos rje bla ma dam pa spyan snga rin po che grags pa byang chub rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i bka' lung dang / dpon po grags pa rin chen gyi gsung bzhin du / sne gdong nang so nas yo byad phun sum tshogs pa stsal te gnas de nyid du / kha che'i paṇḍi ta chen po ku mā ra shrī bha tra dang / bod kyi lo tsā ba nam mkha' bzang pos bsgyur pa'o// 'di yi brgyud pa ni / rje btsun ma sgrol ma / ma hā paṇḍi ta sa ha dza shrī / ma hā paṇḍi ta ku mā ra shrī bha dra / ma hā lo tsā ba nam mkha' bzang po / ma hā lo tsā ba thugs rje dpal la'o//*

[74] Zhiguang 智光, *Xitian Bandida chanshi zhilue* 西天班的答禪師誌略, 1216.

student named Lo chen Thugs rje dpal, who was also active in the fourteenth century. This points very strongly to Sahajaśrī being the author of this text.[75]

It is therefore strange that Sahajaśrī's biography makes no mention of him passing through Tibet, but does name the many places in Central Asia he visited. As will be indicated later, the Chinese records describing Śāriputra's journey also makes no mention of his passage through Tibet. In Sahajaśrī's case, the cause for this elision may have had something to do with the Hongwu emperor's often acrimonious relationship with both the Tibetan rebels and the Tibetan clergy.[76] In fact, shortly after Sahajaśrī's death, large numbers of Tibetan Buddhists monks were executed on charges of treason. Therefore, it is possible that Zhiguang wanted to avoid any mention of Tibet in his teacher's biography. Yet the reasons for avoiding mention of Śāriputra's time in Tibet must have been different, as the Yongle emperor and his successors enjoyed relatively good rapport with Tibetan hierarchs.

Perhaps all that we can conclude from this evidence is that Sahajaśrī traveled to China via the northern route through Central Asia. After his death, Kumaraśrī asked for permission to travel back to India, and did so via Tibet. While in Tibet, he may have been asked to translate the text composed by his teacher Sahajaśrī. In this case, the text would have been translated sometime

[75] It is then a matter of some interest as to why the texts of Sahajaśrī nor Śāriputra were only included in the Peking, Golden Manuscript (1731-41), and Snar thang (1741-2) editions of the *Bstan 'gyur*, a matter that will be ascertained only after a more thorough study of the interrelations of these three editions.

[76] See Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 79ff.

after 1381. Whether Kumaraśrī traveled alone, or with his teacher, to Tibet may be best ascertained by ascertaining the relative chronology of the participants in the translation project.[77]

Finally, it should be noted that, perhaps as a result of his favorable impressions of Dhyānabhadra and Sahajaśrī, the Hongwu emperor sent a party to India in 1378 to bring back Buddhist scriptures which had been lost in China. Not much is known about this mission, but it did reach India, and therefore represents a continued link between Buddhist India and China.[78]

Case #3: Vanaratna (1384-1468)

The significant amount of research on Vanaratna requires no repetition. His three trips to Tibet have been well-studied by Franz-Karl Ehrhard.[79] His time

[77] These figures seem to have been operating around the area of Sne'u gdong, and Spyan snga rin po che Grags pa byang chub rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, at least, may have been a member of Ta'i si tu Byang chub rgyal mtshan's (1302-1364) family. The former may be Spyan snga Grags pa byang chub, the name in religion of Byang chub rdo rje (1377-1428). See Rta tshag tshe dbang rgyal, *Lho rong chos 'byung*, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrung khang, 1994 [1446]), 379-89; L.W.J. van der Kuijp, "On the Fifteenth Century *Lho rong chos 'byung* by Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal and Its Importance for Tibetan Political and Religious History," in *Aspects of Tibetan History* edited by R. Vitali and T. Tsering. Special issue, *Lungta* 14 (2000): 60.

[78] On this expedition to India, see Enoki Kazuo, "Tsung-lê's Mission to the western regions in 1378-1382," *Oriens Extremus* 19, 1 (1972): 228-38.

[79] F.-K. Ehrhard, "Spiritual Relationships Between Rulers and Preceptors: The Three Journeys of Vanaratna (1384-1468) to Tibet," in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet*, (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 245-266; F.-K. Ehrhard, *Life and Travels of Lo-chen bsod-nams rgya-mtsho*; F.-K. Ehrhard, *A Buddhist Correspondence: The Letters*

in the kingdoms of Kathmandu, Patan, and Bhaktapur in the modern Kathmandu valley has been touched upon by William Tuladhar-Douglas and Kazumi Yoshizaki.[80] His Sanskrit writings are the subject of ongoing analysis by Harunaga Isaacson.[81]

As noted above, Vanaratna became the guru of 'Gos Lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, and is the subject of a relatively lengthy biographical notice in the latter's *Dep ther sngon po*. 'Gos Lo tsā ba also wrote a full-length biography of his teacher, as noted above. 'Gos Lo tsā ba did not record Vanaratna's third and final tour of Tibet, but this trip's details survive in the form of a record by Khrims khang Lo tsā ba Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1424-82). The differences between the biographies of Vanaratna and Śāriputra are at times striking, and will be examined in Chapter Three.

PUTTING THE CASE STUDIES INTO DIALOGUE

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of Lo-chen bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2002).

[80] W. Tuladhar-Douglas, *Remaking Buddhism for Medieval Nepal: The Fifteenth-Century Reformation of Newar Buddhism*, (New York: Routledge, 2006); Kazumi Yoshizaki 吉崎 一美, "ネパールにおけるVanaratnaの事跡 [Vanaratna in Nepal]," 密教文化 *The Mikkyo Bunka - Journal of Esoteric Buddhism* 203 (1999): 1-21. The latter was brought to my attention by Iain Sinclair.

[81] H. Isaacson, "Himalayan Encounter: The Teaching Lineage of the *Marmopadeśa* (Studies in the Vanaratna Codex 1)," *Manuscript Cultures* 1 (2008): 2-6; H. Isaacson, "Ratnākaraśānti's Hevajrasahajasadyoga (Studies in Ratnākaraśānti's tantric works I)," in Raffaele Torella, ed., *Le Parole e i Marmi: studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70*, (Roma: Instituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, 2002): 457-87.

The case of Buddhaguptanātha, briefly noted above, provides further examples, but the present study concentrates on the flow of Indian Buddhist travelers up to and around the time of Śāriputra, in order to demonstrate that his entrance to Tibet was not inherently anachronistic. He was traveling a well-worn route from India to Tibet, and even on to China.

Taken as a group, the various biographies – some very long, others short – inform each other, and present a more detailed picture of late Indian Buddhism struggling to survive, but surviving nonetheless. Dhyānabhadra's biography provides many referential details to places and people he visited, but without elaboration. A fresh look is needed at his biography in light of what is known about Vanaratna and Śāriputra. As Waley argued, Dhyānabhadra's education in the *Prajñāpāramitā* and *Avataṁsakasūtra* literature undermines earlier assumptions about post-ninth century Buddhism – that it was exclusively tantric. This line of thought became more robust with the discovery of the biography of Chag Lo tsā ba, encouraging scholars to assume that what the eponymous narrator called Hīnayāna was being exclusively practiced in the Bodhgayā area, though he still met teachers in the Mahāyāna college of Nālandā. The biography of Śāriputra demonstrates that one could study the classic texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism, as well as engage in tantric practice.

Furthermore, Dhyānabhadra's trip to Ceylon to study the Mahāyāna should no longer come as a surprise, as Vanaratna came across a thriving community of Mahāyāna practitioners there.

In addition, while Dhyānabhadra's statements seem anti-tantric, this does not mean that Buddhists in India[82] were not practicing tantra at this time, as Waley seems to infer from the biography. Chag Lo tsā ba also found the monks at the Mahābodhi *vihāra* to be anti-Mahāyāna, but Śāriputra – who was abbot of the same *vihāra* for three years – and Vanaratna both contributed substantially to the tantra section of the Tibetan canon, as shall be discussed below.

It is also the case that while the biography of Śāriputra implies that Buddhism still survived in (southern) Magadha, he does not make any claims about the rest of India. Dhyānabhadra and Vanaratna are both said to have wandered around India, finding Buddhist communities in numerous areas. Places such as the Buddhist complex at Nakappattinam in Tamilnadu, which were still fabricating Buddha images into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,[83] testify to Buddhism's durability, even if it is unclear for whom they were producing the images and in what context. Other Buddhist images in South India were found to be worshipped as Śiva images, as Shu Hikosaka has pointed out.[84] When this transition occurred and why is also a matter of debate.

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[82] By "India," I refer to the geographical area sometimes referred to as Bhārata-varṣa, roughly from the Indian Ocean in the south to the Himālaya in the north. This is also referred to as the "five Indias" in Chinese literature. See D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 4ff.

[83] V. Dehejia, "The Persistence of Buddhism in Tamilnadu," *Marg* (1988): 67-74.

[84] Shu Hikosaka, *Buddhism in Tamilnadu: A New Perspective*, (Madras: Institute of Asian Studies, 1989), 177-98. Hikosaka (33) also states that according to *Civañānacittiyar-parapakkam*, members of the Buddhist *Sautrāntika* school still flourished at least as late as the thirteenth century in the Coḷa areas of Tamil

Further, the biographies of Śāriputra are silent about Nepal, although we know from historical literature that he spent time there. The biography of Vanaratna, on the other hand, supplies much important information about the state of Buddhism in what is now the Kathmandu Valley, as well as the competition it engaged in with brahmanical schools for royal patronage.

A CONSTANT PRESENCE OF INDIAN BUDDHIST TRAVELERS

The information supplied by Dhānabhadra, Sahajaśrī, Śāriputra, Vanaratna, Buddhaguptanātha, and others provide a timeline indicating a steady flow of Indian Buddhists into Tibet, and often into China. The biographies and historical accounts of Śāriputra presented in this study are therefore not only important in their own right, but also represent a significant addition to our knowledge of the overall scene comprising the late Indian Buddhist presence in Tibet and China.

Finally, it is useful to remember that the Buddhists encountered in these pages were not the only Indian Buddhists to travel through Tibet and China. Dhyānabhadra met, and briefly traveled with, a north-Indian Buddhist named "Mahāpaṇḍita." Sahajaśrī had Kumaraśrī as a companion, and a few others as well. Undoubtedly, still others were traveling in these regions. The figures here selected are those about whom a significant amount of information is extant. It

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Nadu. He also includes evidence of a sixteenth-century image of the Buddha fabricated in Nagapattinam, Tamil Nadu (plate 5).

can only be hoped that in the coming years, more will be revealed about these inveterate travelers.

Chapter Outline

These chapters are linked not chronologically, but thematically, in terms of the kinds of traces Śāriputra left behind. As stated earlier, this study very much *follows* Śāriputra. Like his physical remains, Śāriputra's peregrinations spread over the localities of pan-Asian Buddhism. His hair and nails are in Rgyal rtse, his *sarira* in Beijing, Wutai Shan, and perhaps other sites. In the same way, Śāriputra's legacy is dispersed in form and geography. The chapters of each section therefore take up one and then another of these traces.

In Tibet and China, Śāriputra derived much of his prestige from his close association with Vajrāsana. The biographies of Śāriputra reveals that the fate of the Vajrāsana temple was linked to the fate of Buddhism generally. To underscore the importance of this site in the Pan-Asian context, and therefore to highlight the power that Śāriputra embodied as a representative of Vajrāsana, the first part of this study focuses on the Vajrāsana monument, the Mahābodhi temple. As a testament to the ability of Śāriputra to mobilize royal patronage, we know that he designed at least one replica of the Mahābodhi image in Rgyal rtse, and a replica of the Mahābodhi temple in Beijing. These two chapters look at the evolving significance of the Mahābodhi temple and image in a wider context. The first chapter looks at the large-scale Mahābodhi

replicas in what is today Burma and Thailand. This seemingly needless digression serves multiple purposes. First, it complements the case studies of this introduction by describing the continued travel of non-Indian Buddhists to the holy sites of India. Buddhists were not just streaming from India as powerless refugees fleeing onslaught. They were arriving as influential members of Indian Buddhist society, bringing with them the legacy of Buddhist India, instantiated in their particular religious lineages or most powerfully as the Mahābodhi monument. The ruined Mahābodhi temple was not the symbol of a lost Buddhism. Rather, it maintained its symbolic capital as the center of the Buddhist world, the site of Awakening, the location of the Buddhist Counsels, and the partnership of Buddhas and Cakravartins. In addition, this chapter demonstrates that the kings of Pagan and Chiang Mai were sending delegations to India, in particular to Vajrāsana, at the very time Dhāyanabhadra, Śāriputra, and other Indian Buddhists were leaving. This demonstrates that Buddhists were by no means cut off from their Holy Land.

Secondly, this first chapter works with the second in terms of comparison, by showing how the concept of the Vajrāsana site and the Mahābodhi temple was adapted in South- and East-Asian modalities. There are, of course, similarities in that this temple was a prime index of *cakravartin* kingship. However, the different forms of Buddhism practiced in the various countries led to quite different perspectives on what this temple could do.

The second chapter then follows Śāriputra and his design of the Mahābodhi replica in Beijing, called Jingang Baozuo ta 金剛寶座塔, or simply

Wuta si 五塔寺. This chapter explores the Chinese significance of the dual meaning of the Vajrāsana site, as marking the center of the world as well as implying a *cakravartin.* This chapter also looks at the site on which this replica was constructed, its significance in Ming empire-building, as well as how its historical and legendary significance helped to construct the personality of Śāriputra within a web of signification. Through Śāriputra, the Yongle emperor was able to link himself to the Yuan legacy, the Hongwu emperor's legacy, and bridge the divide between the two. As in chapter one, the significance of the Mahābodhi temple and its inhabitant lay not just in reaching back to the *cakravartin* legacy of Aśoka, but also in connecting to the historical and legendary preceding kings who looked to Aśoka as well.

The third chapter opens the section on Śāriputra's literary traces. Each of the following three chapters will analyze another of the three fifteenth-century Tibetan biographies. In studying his *Complete Biography* (Chapter Three) and *Secret Biography* (Chapter Four), his preoccupation with the welfare of Buddhism, the concrete and cosmological instantiation of which is Vajrāsana, is illuminated. In these biographies, Śāriputra is able to marshal a host of relatively common literary tropes for a singular end: to demonstrate the very personal effect of losing his Holy Land. The amount of first person narrative contained in these two biographies encourages the view that the *Complete Biography* may be an autobiography, and the *Secret Biography* was largely dictated by its subject.

The narrative tropes of defamiliarization and visionary experience are common in Tibetan literature. The manner in which Śāriputra manipulates these elements reveals that these are not just exile biographies of an Indian Buddhist refugee. He became a Buddhist refugee the moment he arrived at Vajrāsana. His psychological exile is felt as he loses himself in visionary landscapes. His geographical exile in Tibet is part of a quest for a new Holy Land, instigated from within these visions.

In his exoteric or *Complete* biography, locations play a dominant role in this biography, with very few references to time. There is also an internal oscillation between periods of loss and recovery, linked to Śāriputra's own experience of the destruction of Buddhism at Vajrāsana. His actions while a resident at Vajrāsana represent the core of this biography. In his overt actions of rebuilding temples, defeating other philosophical schools in debate, and revivifying the practice of Buddhism, Śāriputra is reconstituting systems of meaning in defining what it is to be "Buddhist" in opposition to other sects. Yet in covert actions and experiences of seeking tantric teachings from *nāthas* and other yogic adepts, questioning Buddhist cosmology, and the expansion of his visionary world, his internal systems of meaning progressively break down.

The fourth chapter looks at his esoteric biography. In contrast to the exoteric biography, this text is well-anchored in time, but not in place. Here, Śāriputra's world initially fuses the visionary and the mundane. Part of the progression of this narrative is Śāriputra's gradual separation of these two modes in his life, yet the two continue to leak into each other.

In both the exoteric and esoteric biographies, Śāriputra moves increasingly into a visionary landscape, and his experiences there tend to break down his normative worldview. This is effected by a process of surprise and defamiliarization. Both normative Buddhist cosmology as well as ethics are called into question, and Śāriputra receives no easy answers to his questions on these topics. Defamiliarization functions to highlight the effect of losing his Holy Land on Śāriputra.

The fifth chapter analyzes a very different sort of biography. This is called *The Jeweled Rosary*, which I term Śāriputra's lineage biography. It very likely forms the basis for a set of biographies describing the masters of the *Mi tra khrid drug* teaching cycle, which became very important for the 'Phags pa lha lineage in Chamdo, Tibet from its inception in the fifteenth century. It is also the most focused of the three biographies. Instead of anchors in space and time, it concentrates on people and teachings. In contrast to the other biographies, the reader gains very little sense of Śāriputra as an individual. He is more of a conduit for the lineage. He miraculously meets his guru, receives transmissions from *bodhisattvas*, gains prophecies of his future enlightenment, gives teachings, is invited to China, and wanders out of the biography.

There is a clear trajectory in this biography, which is not present in the others. In the exoteric biography, he is born into a family who have auspicious dreams of his greatness. In the esoteric biography, he immediately encounters visions. In the lineage biography, the prophecies are given first. He is their fulfillment, and seems to live his life fulfilling prophecies rather that having

individual agency. He is prophesied to receive certain teachings and to give them to a destined disciple. The content of the biography represents his actualization of potential. He moves from visions and prophecy to reality, it stark contrast to the other biographies, where his life is gradually dominated by visions. Once he has fulfilled the prophecies, his role is done and the biography ends. Whereas the other biographies constantly decenter and defamiliarize both Śāriputra and the reader, the lineage biography makes every effort to contextualize and familiarize his life.

In its utter comprehensibility, this biography is extraordinary in that it reveals a process by which Śāriputra is written out of his own life. In the *Complete* and *Secret Biography*, the narrative becomes unanchored in place or time to reveals significant details about Śāriputra's attitude towards his world. In the *Rosary of Jewels*, Śāriputra is supplied with an almost entirely new set of anchors. He is given a new homeland, new parents, new guru, and a new life in terms of his previous incarnation. Previously, defamiliarization occurred within the biographies. Here, it seems that it occurred between biographies, as the Śāriputra encountered in this lineage biography seems completely different from the subject of the other biographies.

In the sixth chapter, we pick up on some of the historical strands present in the biographies, and attempt to weave them into the larger context of Tibetan and Chinese history. Grounding Śāriputra in Tibetan and Chinese history serves two purposes. Initially, it fills in some details in the biographies, and tries to establish frames of reference, such as timelines, for Śāriputra's

journey. In this way, it establishes the reality of a Śāriputra that is often balked at in the biographies themselves, but is necessary to establish his importance for Buddhist history in general.

This effort demonstrates that it is not just the biographies that seem to present three different Śāriputras. The Tibetan historical material itself demonstrates that there were at least two, very distinct, aspects to Śāriputra: the *nātha* teaching *prāṇayāma* and the doctrines of Gorakṣa, and the scholar-yogin teaching the *vinaya* and the *Mi tra khrid drug*. This highlights the problem of valorizing one genre of Tibetan literature as more "historical" over another as more "literary." In the case of textual evidence surrounding the legacy of Śāriputra, the textual community of the "*nātha*" Śāriputra comprises "literary/biographical" and "historical" evidence which is mutually illuminating, as are the multiple literary genres comprising accounts of Śāriputra the scholar-yogin. There is no one literary or historical account that bridges the divide between these two aspects of Śāriputra's persona in Tibet.

Finally, this chapter picks up where the others left off. When Śāriputra left Tibet, he walked out of Tibetan history and literature. This chapter follows him into China, to Wutai Shan and the Ming court of the Yongle emperor. In this way, we return to Śāriputra's compatriots who resided at the Yuan and Ming courts discussed in this introduction, as well as his monuments at Beijing and Wutai Shan that formed the basis for chapters one and two.

The conclusion briefly examines how Śāriputra is remembered today, in particular at the worship of his bodily traces, that is, his relics. This represents

a turn from describing why Śāriputra is *important* to why he *matters*, a distinction that is made by Daniel Miller apropos of the study of material culture. His "importance" is based on the analytical inquiry comprising the majority of this study, which tends to mine the life and legacy of this traveler for its historical information.

> The term "matter," by contrast, tends to a more diffused, almost sentimental association that is more likely to lead us to the concerns of those being studied than those doing the studying. It puts the burden of mattering clearly on evidence of concern to those being discussed.[85]

While this work has labored to emphasize the importance of Śāriputra, the conclusion will examine whether a knowledge of who Śāriputra *was* bears any relation to how much his relics *matter*.

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[85] D. Miller, "Why Some Things Matter," in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. D. Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 11.

Part I: The Times

The Fifteenth Century and the Circulation of Bodhgayā

Introduction:

In the introduction, we saw that the assumptions that led to the general notion that Buddhism died out in India between the ninth and thirteenth centuries are flawed. This misunderstanding of Indian Buddhism's time line was not simply the product of the early Buddhological research of Western academics; Tibetan historians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries thought likewise until today. The lives of late Indian Buddhist travelers, such as Dhyānabhadra, Sahajaśrī, and Śāriputra prove that there was an outflow, not just of Indian Paṇḍitas to Tibet and China, but of Indian Buddhist Paṇḍitas well into the fifteenth century.

The following two chapters examine the specific case history of Śāriputra by focusing on one of his traces, the replica of Bodhgayā's Mahābodhi stūpa in Beijing that he is credited with designing. Śāriputra's relationship with the Mahābodhi *stūpa* and the Vajrāsana at which it is located are powerful indexes of his importance in both China and Tibet. Both Chinese and Tibetan biographers consistently highlight his relationship to the most salient of Buddhist holy sites, the locus of awakening for all *buddhas*, Vajrāsana. In addition, Śāriputra's monumental

traces, such as large-scale statues and architectural projects, also emphasize his links with the Mahābodhi temple and Vajrāsana.

Given the site's importance to Śāriputra's history, the importance of the Vajrāsana's significance to the pan-Buddhist world is worth noting. The Vajrāsana in general could easily be the subject of more than one monograph, but the following two chapters will look – briefly, by necessity – at the phenomenon of large-scale replicas of the Mahābodhi stūpa,[1] as it is the building of such a replica for which Śāriputra is most remembered in Chinese documents. Further, the timeline for this study will be restricted to the fifteenth century.[2] This fleshes out the time period during which Śāriputra was active, and also illuminates the issue of Buddhism's Indian fortunes at a relatively late period such as the fifteenth century. Not only were Indian Buddhists leaving India at this late date, but Southeast Asian Buddhists were actively still traveling to India at this same time.[3] This sheds light on Śāriputra's life by prividing a broad view of the milieu in which he traveled.

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[1] As we will see, focusing on these large-scale replicas automatically restricts the comparison to the regions of China and Southeast Asia. The Mahābodhi replica found in Lalitpur (Patan), Nepal, falls outside the scope of these chapters. While it is certainly a monument, it is considerably smaller than the monuments discussed in these chapters. In terms of time, it was probably built two centuries after the replicas of these chapters. A thoroughgoing acount of this temple's history is still lacking, but can also be seen to be tied to notions of kingship and political restructuring. Some of these themes for fifteenth-century Nepal will be discussed in chapter six, in the context of Śāriputra's visit to the Kathmandu valley.

[2] Though in discussing the fifteenth-century monuments, we will look at possible precedents from earlier periods.

[3] An examination of later Mahābodhi replicas, such as those in Mongolia and others in Beijing, would not demonstrate a later contact with India. The plans for these later replicas were largely based on the one designed by Śāriputra, the *Jingang baozuo ta* 金剛寶座塔. In our earlier discussion of Sahajaśrī, we have noted Chinese

These chapters' comparitive perspective responds to J.Z. Smith's call to apply a more evolutionary approach to comparison. He defines: "The *evolutionary* approach, which factors in the dynamics of change and persistence over time in response to adaptation to a given environment."[4] A look at the *cakravartin* ideal of kingship, as related to the construction of monuments like the Mahābodhi replicas in the fifteenth century is instructive of the three forms of comparison, two trace the evolution of a particular mode of thinking about the *cakravartin*-Mahābodhi relationship in Southeast Asia (Pegu, Pagan, Chiang Mai) and China. These comparisons cover a longer time-span, culminating in the fifteenth-century construction of Mahābodhi replicas in the capital cities of the various kingdoms or empires under consideration.[5] The third comparison is between the *cakravartin*-Mahābodhi relationship as instantiated in Southeast Asia and China. In this comparison, the geographical breadth is quite wide, but remains limited to the fifteenth century, when these Mahābodhi replicas were all built.

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missions to India, yet we cannot always be certain what the Chinese documents were referring to by "India." Often, "India" implied Tibet. On this problem, see Hoong Teik-Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 17ff.

[4] J.Z. Smith. *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 24.

[5] With regards to the Ming court in particular, modern scholars have often fallen prey to the Qing court's criticisms of the Ming as being reactionary to earlier dynasties, such as the Yuan. However, as early Ming scholarship develops, this view is quickly changing. As David Robinson notes "The practices and tenor of the Ming court were deeply shaped by both previous Chinese dynasties and its immediate predecessor, the Mongol empire. Facile dismissals of the Ming court as recidivist, xenophobic, or reactionary clearly miss the depth of the court's engagement with such groups as the Mongols, Tibetans, and Koreans." See D.M. Robinson. "Introduction," in *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*, ed. D.M. Robinson, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 16.

Great differences are revealed when we examine the very particular historical environments which produced these Mahābodhi replicas. For instance, the role of Śāriputra in the construction of the Beijing Mahābodhi replica was unique to the particular Beijing evolution of the *cakravartin*-Mahābodhi relationship. Had Śāriputra traveled to South-East Asian countries with his designs for the Mahābodhi *stūpa*, his role would have been different. This is not to say that his plans would not have been realized, however, as the Southeast Asian kings were quite interested in building these replicas.

The underlying reasons for building these replicas is what makes the comparison between Southeast Asia and China interesting. The general assumptions about a *cakravartin* engagement with the Mahābodhi temple seems quite similar, but these assumptions evolved in different ways, according to the historical and religious context of the various countries. All settings regarded the *cakravartin* ideal as something that could be enacted in a particular way which involved, in this case, the construction of a Mahābodhi replica.

The performative aspects of royal tasks, the view of the royal court as a type of theater, enacting the "exemplary center" has been well documented by Clifford Geertz with respect to Bali.[6] Frederick Mote also observed the manner in which the

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[6] C. Geertz. *Negara: The Theater State in Nineteenth-Century Bali.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). See also J.S. Lansing. *Perfect Order: Recognizing Complexity in Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). Lansing provides the underpinnings for Geertz' general thesis about the theater state, by looking to the loci of actual power in Bali. Given Lansing's evidence that the Balinese kingship was less of a performance than a charade, there should be some refinement when we compare Pagán, Thai or Chinese ceremonial centers with Balinese ones (in addition to the rather obvious point that we are discussing Buddhist kingdoms, as opposed to Hindu ones, as was the case for Bali). The royal courts we are discussing in these

Ming court feasts reflected "the proper order of human society, as well as the cosmic relationships."[7] David Robinson noted that "although Geertz highlighted the court's production of order, while Mote here cast regulations and words as symbols of cosmic patterns, both drew attention to the court's link to more encompassing visions of order."[8] The building of Mahābodhi replicas was part of this process, evidenced by their construction within, in every case, ceremonial

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two chapters are not "pure theater." There is enactment of royal power in both a real and ceremonial sense. It is for this reason that I stress Bourdieu's term "symbolic capital." Unlike similar terms such as "aura" or "charisma," symbolic capital implies engagement with a sort of transactional economy, and symbolic capital can be exchanged for economic and other sorts of capital. When a Pagán, Thai, Mon or Chinese king build a Mahābodhi replica, there was an investment of symbolic capital, but also of economic capital, both of which came from the court. This is unlike the situation in Bali where religious monuments may have been encouraged by the court, but the economic capital (as Lansing points out) ultimately came from the village communities. In this regard, I should also like to make clear that I am not using the term "exemplary center" in the sense of a kind of Eliadean "Center," which ignores the periphery. For analyses of the relation between center and periphery, cf. A. Ortiz, *The Tewa World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969); E. Shils, "Center and Periphery," reprinted in *Selected Essays by Edward Shils* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 1-14; J.Z. Smith, "Earth and Gods," in *Map is not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 119-128; M. Douglas. *Purity and Danger*, (New York: Routledge, 1966); V.W. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977). Finally, while these exemplary centers may involve a certain degree of transcendence, this transcendence does not necessarily imply divine transcendence, or even movement towards a state of human perfection. See the discussion below of Aśoka as a paradigmatic king. He is represented as a *cakravartin*, but by no means is he the best of all possible *cakravartins*. Indeed, he is quite low down the list.

[7] F. Mote, "Yüan and Ming," in *Food in Chinese Culture: Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, ed. K.C. Chang, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 219.

[8] D.M. Robinson. "The Ming Court," in *Culture, Courtiers, and Competition: The Ming Court (1368-1644)*, ed. D.M. Robinson, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 28.

centers.[9] Their construction was part of a larger system of enacting the kingdom ruled by a *cakravartin* as an ideally ordered society, modeled in this case on, but also representing an evolution of, the Aśokan legacy.[10]

This enactment required a certain amount of symbolic capital on the part of the kings, which may be perhaps thought of as an investment. These projects enacted the *cakravartin*'s role and demonstrated their being one. If such enactments resonated, the king accrued large amounts of symbolic capital in return.[11] This economy of symbolic capital differentiates the kingdoms discussed below from Geertz's "exemplary centers."

Śāriputra is credited with a great deal of building activity during his journey to Beijing. In particular, one of the Buddha images enshrined in Rgyal rtse monastery's main Lha khang followed a design Śāriputra drew based on the

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[9] This loyalty to a ceremonial center ruled by a royal monopoly fades later, allowing any worthy donor the opportunity to build a Mahābodhi or other construction in more provincial centers.

[10] As we will see below, Aśoka is the most relevant paradigm for these kings. However, the entire legacy of *cakravartin* kingship is being called upon. Aśoka is an "iron age" *cakravartin*, but to know the iron age, one must also know the golden age. It was this primordial, paradisial society at the beginning of this world cycle which is ruled over by the Golden Age *cakrvartin* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*'s "Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta." The *cakravartin* concept is also found in such texts as the *Abhidharmakośa* (see next chapter). As Strong states, "His presence is instrumental in maintaining the paradisial state. Because he knows what is good and rules through Dharma, poverty, ill-will, violence, and wrongdoing are all absent from his kingdom. Cf. J.S. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the* Aśokāvadāna, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 45-6. As we will see in chapter three, such a paradisial environment is found in the description of Śāriputra's place of birth.

[11] The reception of these replicas is something that will not be addressed in any depth here, for reasons stated below.

dimensions of the Buddha image within the Mahābodhi vihāra in Bodhgayā.[12] Also, the Jingang baozuo ta 金剛寶座塔 (locally known as Wuta si 五塔寺) temple in Beijing was constructed based on a design of the Mahābodhi vihāra Śāriputra executed. The proliferation of Mahābodhi stūpas in China began with Śāriputra's designs that included the stūpa housing part of his remains in Wutai Shan, the Shilisha Ta. Therefore, there is a direct link between the replicas of the Mahābodhi stūpa in Tibet and China, and Śāriputra. Looking at other replicas throughout Asia explains their relevance to their patrons and pilgrims.

Where and how did Śāriputra gain the expertise to design his many images? He may have gained his skills from any number of sources. As yet, his exact place of birth remains uncertain, but it may have been close to present-day Nepal, in which case he may have trained with Newari craftsmen. Some of the few Buddhists left in the Bīhar or Bengal regions of India may have been craftsman.[13] Robert Brown's query about whether the "Burmese" (the term had yet to be invented), during their renovations, used local (Indian) or imported craftsman merits attention.[14] Śāriputra may well have learned something from the Southeast Asian pilgrims (or the local

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[12] Tāranātha (Kun dga' snying po, 1575-1642), *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bzhad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs (Myang Chos 'byung)*, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1983), 53.

[13] As has been pointed out, some of the last evidence of Buddhism in India are statues of the Buddha cast in Tamil Nadu, and sold as Śiva images. Cf. V. Dehejia. "The Persistence of Buddhism in Tamilnadu," *Marg* (1988): 67-74.

[14] R. Brown, "Bodhgaya and Southeast Asia," in Janice Leoshko, *Bodhgaya, the Site of Enlightenment*, (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1988), 101-124, especially 106-7. As the Pegu inscription states that Kyanzittha sent the funds, but nothing about sending craftsmen, evidence may point to the use of local, Indian artists, which would mitigate the influence of Burmese architectural styles on the Mahabodhi temple.

craftsmen they hired) who visited and refurbished the stūpa.[15] These craftsmen influenced, and were influenced by, the architecture of the Mahābodhi stūpa.[16] As the stūpa's brick-and-stucco design was particularly vulnerable to the Indian heat,[17] frequent restorations were necessary. What the riginal structure looked like before Śāriputra saw the Mahābodhi vihāra is unclear, nor is it known how far replicas like the Chiang Mai Mahābodhārāma (Wat Jet Yòt) and the Beijing Jingang baozuo ta 金剛寶座塔 (Wuta Si) deviated from the Mahābodhi stūpa their designers saw.

These uncertainties justify a study of the various replicas to understand how faithfully the Chinese stūpas followed Śāriputra's design. This, in turn, will indicate the extent to which "copying" was essential to replicating the Mahābodhi stūpa.

[15] This may point to how Sariputra got his artistic training. We know from his biography that he restored one temple. It is possible that he was around for the reconstructions of Tilokarāja and Dhammaceti, in which case if he was not trained during their missions, there would at least have been a community of artists and craftsmen specializing in the Mahābodhi temple. This may account for his ability to reproduce the plans of the Mahābodhi image, the temple, and perhaps the site models that were found in Narthang.

[16] See Griswold's discussion of the architectural features, such as the buttresses on the western face, which were probably introduced at the time of Kyanzittha's restoration, as well as the radiating arches and vaults which may have been indigenous to the Mahābodhi stūpa, and later influenced the architecture of Pagán. A.B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported: Replicas of the Mahābodhi Shrine in Siam and Elsewhere," in *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume on Art & Architecture and Oriential Studies*, (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1965), 190.

[17] Griswold, *idem*, 199.

Chapter One

Vajrāsana in Southeast Asia

The proliferation of full-scale replicas of the Mahābodhi temple in present-day Bodhgayā has been the subject of some scholarly attention. However, as scholars pondered their purpose within the communities in which they were made, they grouped these large replicas together with the small-scale ones, ubiquitous in the pan-Buddhist world. Even recent scholarship, such as art historian Frank Asher's paper at the 2008 conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, or anthropologist Toni Huber in his 2008 publication *The Holy Land Reborn*[18], has lumped the two types together. Such alignments justify some generalizations about the power of Vajrāsana sites based on these large groupings, but each replication is site specific and needs to be understood in its unique context.[19] For

[18] T. Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 125-6. Huber focuses on the large-scale models, but addresses the small-scale to point out that since Tibetans collected these small-scale models, there obviously was an interest in replicas as such. As this chapter hopes to make clear, the impetus to make or collect small-scale replicas was quite different from the impetus to create large-scale replicas.

[19] In these chapters, I am focusing on the symbolic power of the large-scale replicas of the Mahābodhi temple because Śāriputra is credited with building, or at least designing, one such temple himself. My emphasis on the large-scale should in no way be interpreted as a denigration of the power of small-scale replicas, in general. I agree with the statement of Susan Stewart: "A reduction in the physical dimension of an object depicted can, in fact, increase the dimension of significance...The

instance, the claim by a Tibetan Buddhist that anywhere can be Vajrāsana since the Indian holy sites are reflected in the *vajrakāya* of the tantric practitioner,[20] differs from the reasoning of the Theravādin King Tilokarāja when he builds a full-scale replica of the Vajrāsana temple in Chiang Mai (in present-day Northern Thailand).

Huber is correct to argue that "Buddhist holy land replicas across Asia were always intended and accepted by their builders and worshippers as nothing more than pious replications, albeit ones that might serve the same ritual functions as their originals,"[21] I take the term "replicate" in perhaps a different sense than Huber. I see these large scale replicas as a reflection *on*, as well as a reflection *of*, the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi temple. This seems to be the only way they could, as Huber puts it, serve the same ritual function as their predecessor. Yet evidence regarding what the builders thought of their constructions, and what worshippers thought of them is lacking. All laypeople did not view these replicas in the same way, and entering their mind is difficult. What we can know are some of the motivations held by these projects' sponsors.

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miniature always tends toward exaggeration – it is a selection of detail that magnifies detail in the same movement by which it reduces detail," quoted in J.Z. Smith, "Trading Places," in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 227. I do not dispute the *potential* of the small-scale to increase significance, but I will argue that the small-scale does not always actualize this potential. The same could, of course, be said for large-scale replicas, in general.

[20] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 86-92. As we will see in chapter four, in his *Secret Biography*, during tantric practice, Śāriputra is told that all the Buddhist ritual and educational sites exist within his own body. This does not prevent him, however, from making pilgrimages to these actual sites in India, nor from building replicas of them in China.

[21] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 126.

Many motives produced the great temples of Chiang Mai, Pegu and Beijing, but the *cakravartin* ideal was key.[22] This royal legacy informed the royal sponsors of all large-scale fifteenth-century replicas, the period of the greatest flourishing of this type of construction.[23] While the result of royal self-fashioning as a *cakravartin* created similar edifices, a Mahābodhi replica, these replicas different, since kings interpreted the *cakravartin* ideal differently.

A close examination of the unique historical milieu in which these replicas arose makes this common motivation apparent. This motivation will explain why the Vajrāsana temple could be replicated while acknowledging the existence of only one Vajrāsana. It will also explain why Tibet (wherein a great many Indian holy cites were replicated or reinvented) never built a replica of the Mahābodhi temple, while all of her neighbors did.

MULTIPLYING VAJRĀSANA IN A TIME OF DECLINE

Timing mattered because the period was associated with Buddhist demise in India. Though Buddhism had by no means died out in Bodhgayā (or in India as a

[22] On the *cakravartin* in South-East Asia, see G.Y. Goh, "*Cakkravatiy Anuruddha* and the Buddhist *Oikoumene*: Historical Narratives of Kingship and Religious Narratives in Burma, Northern Thailand, and Sri Lanka (11th - 14th Centuries)," (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i, 2007), 1-16.

[23] I am focusing on the fifteenth century replicas in this chapter to limit the discussion of this extremely rich topic. While I am not attempting to establish that Southeast Asian Buddhist rulers were in communication with East Asian rulers, I am not discounting the possibility. Thus keeping my remarks to a single period seems the most prudent methodology.

whole) at this time, Buddhism was experiencing a period of decline, and the incursions by Muslims and others made its future uncertain.

This raises the question whether these replicas were constructed out of necessity or practicality. Was their sponsorship a retreat into the past or a grappling with the present, anticipating a better future? Such construction projects occurred when Muslim incursions cut off pilgrimage routes. Duplicate Vajrāsanas therefore benefitted to pilgrims. Yet this hypothesis has proved problematic – there was a near-constant presence of Buddhist pilgrims at Vajrāsana, especially from Pagan. While the locality surrounding Bodhgayā changed hands between Muslim, Hindu and (it seems) Buddhist groups, pilgrimage from any sect was not banned. In fact it was encouraged, for economic reasons at the very least.

Furthermore, it is unclear to what extent Bodhgayā was ever a reasonable pilgrimage destination. As previously stated, the presence of pilgrims at Bodhgayā was near constant, but these pilgrims were usually members of the Buddhist clergy or royalty. Perhaps Indian pilgrimage sites remained inaccessible to residents of other Buddhist countries for reasons other than Muslim incursions. For Southeast Asians, there was the expense of sea travel, as well as negotiating one's way through a foreign land with foreign languages. The Chinese had long since broken contact with India (or at least blurred the distinction between India, Nepal, and Tibet), and may have been unaware of a Muslim invasion – or any other cause for the decline of Buddhism in India. Finally, Tibetan travelers viewed the foreign diseases of India as a strong barrier to pilgrimage. They also related problems no

doubt endemic to the pan-Buddhist world, like what language to use en route to Bodhgayā. As with Southeast Asian Buddhists, there were Tibetans in India and at Bodhgayā, but still Tibetans record the necessity of staying in Nepal for long periods of time in order to become conversant in Sanskrit and other Indian tongues (as well as generally acclimatizing to the lower altitudes) before moving on to Bihar, just next door to Nepal.

THE PAGÁN MAHĀBODHI TEMPLE

Griswold dates this temple between the first and second Pagan missions to Bodhgayā,[24] probably the first half of the thirteenth century. This would place its construction over one hundred and fifty years after the mission to Bodhgayā which preceded the beginning of construction. As Pichard states, "it can be assumed that

[24] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 189. Griswold dates the first Burmese restoration to 1100, although no exact date is known other than that it occurred during the reign of Kyanzittha (reigned c. 1085/7-1113). The dates of the second mission are only known through the dates of the Burmese inscriptions at Bodhgayā, which gives the dates 657 and 660 (A.D. 1295/6 and 1298). See Griswold's discussion of Cunningham and other's misreading of these dates. Griswold surmises that the temple was probably built in the first half of the thirteenth century. G.H. Luce also gives the first mission as occurring during the reign of Kyanzittha and the second as occurring at the end of the dynasty in 1295/6. See E.W. Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires, a Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiengmai," *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 39 (1951): 65-6. Pierre Pichard also dates the Pagán replica to the first half of the thirteenth century. See P. Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," in *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*, ed. Wim Denslagen and Niels Gutschow, (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2005), 136; P. Pichard. *Inventory of Monuments At Pagán = Inventaire Des Monuments*, (Paris: Unesco École française d'extrême orient Kiscadale, 1996), 6: 330-334.

the replica was based on record of the mission members, and possibly on sketches brought back to the king."[25]

Why this delay between the mission and the beginning of the construction project? And why at the end of the thirteenth century "when disaster had already overtaken Pagán, one of the last rulers of the dynasty sent a mission to Bodhgayā to restore the old temple, which had again fallen into disrepair"[26]? The answers alter the prevailing interpretation that the pan-Buddhist world became cut off from India due to the Muslim incursions,[27] and therefore pilgrimage to places like Bodhgayā became impossible. Replicas were therefore created to supply pilgrims with a substitute Bodhgayā.

However, the Pagán scenario shows that missions to Bodhgayā were sent *after* the construction of the Mahābodhi replica began. As will be shown, Pegu and Chiang Mai sent their own missions even later. These latter missions were specifically designed to obtain designs for replicas of the Mahābodhi temple, unlike the missions from Pagán. Nowhere is it recorded that any of these missions

[25] Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," 136. It is worth noting here that these sketches necessitated sending more than monks to the Mahābodhi stūpa. If Pichard and Griswold are correct, especially where Griswold points out the unerring accuracy in the Pegu and Chiang Mai temples' replicating the spacing of the Seven Weeks sites in relation to the Mahābodhi tree, then a team of skilled craftsmen and architects were surely sent in addition to any monks. If this is the case, then any deviations from the original architecture of the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi site must be considered intentional. It would be worth considering exactly how these teams of artisans functioned to both make design plans in Bodhgayā as well as carrying them out in Pagán, Pegu, Chiang Mai, etc.

[26] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 176.

[27] H. Kulke and D. Rothermund, *A History of India*, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 160.

encountered particular hardships, negating the notion that Bodhgayā had been "cut off" from the rest of the Buddhist world. What did it mean to be "cut off" from places like Bodhgayā? Was Pagán in such regular contact with Buddhists in Bodhgayā as late as the thirteenth century, such that they realized that by virtue of foreign invasion or internal decline they were no longer able to access their holy land? If so, was this break in communication commented upon? Did this contact then at some point restart such that in 1296 they knew they were able to send a successful repair mission to Bodhgayā? If these late communications did indeed occur, they must have continued at least sporadically throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as Chiang Mai and Pegu sent their own missions.[28]

Alternately, the idea of Buddhist India being sealed off from the rest of the Buddhist world must be reconsidered. Alongside this reevaluation, the possible reasons for the construction of Mahābodhi replicas must also be rescrutinized. This reconsideration will consider what it means to be or to have the Vajrāsana.

The Pagán Mahābodhi temple is the oldest large-scale replica of the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi temple in South-east Asia.[29] As Tilman Frasch has shown,

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[28] Tilman Frasch and Hermann Kulke both state that "Islamic conquest of northern India cut off the holy places of Buddhism" (*ibid.*). The large influx of Indian Buddhists into Southeast Asia and Tibet ostensibly proves this. Yet, Frasch then states that the Pagán king responded by sending a fact-finding mission to India. Evidently, India was in military turmoil, but by no means cut off from the rest of Asia. T. Frasch, "A Remark on the Mahabodhi Temples at Pagán," *Southeast Asian Archaeology, 1998: Proceedings of the 7th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Berlin, 31 August-4 September 1998*, (Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 2000), 46.

[29] The Mahābodhi śikhara had become a popular design feature of Pagán temples since Kyanzittha's mission. Yet, a complete replica was not built until this one. On

King Nātoṅmyā may have ordered its construction out of a sense of Buddhist piety as well as part of his efforts toward political legitimation.[30] As will be seen below, these remain salient concerns of all later kings who sponsored similar constructions.

CHIANG MAI MAHĀBODHĀRĀMA (WAT CHET YOT)

Archaeologists initially presumed this temple to be contemporaneous with the Pagán mahābodhi temple due to a reading of the Jinakālamālī which seemed to suggest that the Mahābodhārāma was an old foundation. Hutchinson's reading of the *Seven Spire Chronicle* dates the foundation of the temple *ad initio* to the reign of Tilokarāja (r. 1441-1487).[31] Instead of the two temples being contemporary with one another, Hutchinson surmised the Chiang Mai temple was a copy of the Pagán Mahābodhi temple, but after a thorough analysis of the architectural features, Griswold decided that it was in fact the result of an additional mission to Bodhgayā. King Dhammaceti of Pegu, the Mòn neighbor of Chiang Mai's Tilokarāja, sent his own mission to Bodhgayā (via Sri Lanka) to draw up plans for a temple sometime between 1458 and 1472, as the temple was consecrated in 1479, as detailed in the two sixteenth century Mòn chronicles *Nidāna Ārambhakathā* and *Dhammacetimam*

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the Mahābodhi śikhara in Pagán temple construction, see G.H. Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, (Locust Valley, N.Y.: J. J. Augustin, 1969-70), 347-8.

[30] Frasch, "A Remark on the Mahabodhi Temples at Pagán," 42-3; T. Frasch, *Pagán: Stadt und Staat*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, Bd. 172, (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1996), 31, 89ff.

[31] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 184.

Atthupatti.[32] As Griswold notes, "It would have been belittling for a man of Tiloka's character to send to Pagán for plans when his neighbor was sending to the original source."[33]

Obviously, this is mere conjecture. Pichard seems to agree with Hutchinson's ideas on the subject, as he does not mention the possibility of the Tilokarāja mission, instead stating,

> [T]he local chronicles, though they refer explicitly to the Indian site, do not give any account of where and how its records were obtained. It is in fact possible that the Mahabodhi previously copied in Pagan was the model for this Thai version, now called Wat Chet Yot (the seven spire monastery), as it has two additional stupa-like turrets in front of the five pyramidal towers of the model.[34]

Pichard's notions about the provenance of the Mahābodhārāma stūpa's design is thus as lacking in evidence as Griswold's initial statement about why Tilokarāja might have sent another mission to Bodhgayā. Yet Griswold hypothesis about Tilokarāja's motive is merely a support for his main argument based on the architectural evidence provided by the Chiang Mai temple.

As Griswold notes, a comparison of the Pagán and Chiang Mai monuments reveals few commonalities. Initially, the same is true when comparing the

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[32] Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," 141.

[33] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 188. This statement does not really make logical sense as Tilokarāja laid the foundation of the Mahābodhārāma in 1455, and Dhammaceti did not accede to the throne until 1458, and therefore is entirely possible that the Pegu king's mission to Gayā was indeed an act of one upsmanship. Griswold's discussion of the architectural features dividing the Mahābodhārāma from the Pagán temple is a much more stable argument in favor of an independent mission to the Mahābodhi vihāra.

[34] Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," 141.

Mahābodhārāma to the original Mahābodhi temple. However, when all three temples are compared, it is clear that both the Pagán and Chiang Mai temples drew inspiration from the original Mahābodhi temple, and that the Chiang Mai Mahābodhārāma is not derivative of the Pagán Mahābodhi temple. As Griswold points out

> While the monument at Pagán is on the whole a much closer copy of the original, there are at least four respects in which Chieng Mai is more faithful...If Tiloka's architects got their plans from Pagán, it would be very strange if they departed from their model in these particular matters, in which Pagán had departed from its model; and stranger still if they just happened to hit on the Bodhgayā formulas for them.[35]

The unanswered question is how to explain the great differences between the Mahābodhārāma and the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi temple. According to Griswold, the answer lies in the very nature of copying in Buddhist art.[36] Here, matters of style are optional. However, this statement about the nature of Buddhist art depends on a number of questionable underlying assumptions. It is unclear if the Mahābodhārāma reveals something of a Thai style which would override a concern to imitate exactly the Indian original. Also, if non-exact copying typified Buddhist art per se, the same feature would be absent in Hindu and Christian art, for example. This is clearly not the case, as has been well documented with respect to both examples.[37]

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[35] *Ibid.*, 206.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] W. Denslagen, "Introduction," in *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*, ed. Wim Denslagen and Niels Gutschow, (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2005), 1-29.

The question applies not only to the Mahābodhārāma. In the replica of the Mahābodhi temple in Beijing, the Zhenjue si (aka Wuta si) is also noted in current historical writing to have been based on a design modeled on the original Mahābodhi stūpa, but built in the Chinese style. The Zhenjue si and Mahābodhārāma temples appear to have a great deal in common, such as their seemingly oversized podia. Together, they provide a fascinating opportunity to discuss the possible appearance of the original Mahābodhi temple when the respective draughtsmen made their designs.

Griswold explained the differences between the design of the Mahābodhārāma and the original Mahābodhi stūpa by assuming that the Vajrāsana complex in Bodhgayā was "surely in an advanced state of ruin and overgrown with vegetation" in the fifteenth century.[38] The Mahābodhi stūpa's hot environment contributed to this dilapidation, making all temples in need of periodic restoration. The Pagán missions had just this purpose: the restoration of the Mahābodhi stūpa. Therefore, the artists and restorers would have had a much more intimate and detailed knowledge of the Bodhgayā stūpa than other missions whose aim was to sketch plans for a replica without first trying to restore the stūpa to a more pristine condition. This may account for the *devas* in the niches of the Chiang Mai stūpa instead of Buddhas, even though the semi-octagonal pilasters setting them into the

[38] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 207.

podium are one of the features making the Mahābodhārāma temple closer to the Mahābodhi caitya than the Pagán temple.[39]

PEGU TEMPLE, SHWEGUGYI (C. 1460-70)

Unfortunately, this temple's advanced state of decay precludes comparison with the Pagán and Chiang Mai temples.[40] The stucco has all disappeared, so it is impossible to know how the façade looked. The stūpas are only a third of their original height. Nevertheless, the gross architecture does provide some insights. The placement of stairways and buttresses demonstrate that the kings Dhammaceti and Tilokarāja were not working with the same set of design plans. Furthermore, the Chiang Mai and Pegu temples replicated memorials of events during the seven weeks after the Buddha's awakening. These sites' placement with reference to the bodhi tree is so precise as to suggest first-hand knowledge of the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi environs. As Griswold states,

> Tabulation of memorials of the 'Seven Weeks' in direction from the bodhi tree, and distance in meters, Pegu and Chiang Mai copies correspond exactly with the Bodhgayā original...They are further

[39] The other three of Griswold's four named features are the location of the pit for the bodhi tree at the west end of the podium rather than on the extension; the canopies at the entrance to the stūpas; the presence of *āmalakas* on the stūpa faces. (Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 206).

[40] Note that while Griswold states that there can be little said about the remain of this replica, Pichard states that "the replica is now utterly ruined and it is not therefore possible to make appraisal of its former architecture" (Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," 141). It may also be worth noting that Pegu and Pagán are the sites of major renovations and reconstruction by the current Myanmar government. It will be interesting to see how these temples figure into the large-scale reconstructions taking place. See also: Brown, "Bodhgaya and South-East Asia," 108.

> confirmation of our hypothesis that a mission from Chieng Mai went to Bodhgayā at about the same time as the mission from Pegu.[41]

Donald Stadtner has attempted to refute Griswold by pointing out that the orientations of four of these sites are listed in the *Nidānakathā*, and that an eighteenth-century Mon biography of the Buddha, the *Tathagatha-oudana*, "describes the orientations of all seven station, the first four being in agreement with the *Nidana Katha*."[42] The last three sites conform to those of the Pegu temple complex. He further states,

> A Sinhalese work from the same era, the *Sarvagnagunalankaraya (A Description of the Nature of All Knowledge)*, describes the stations with the same orientations, although the distances differ from those of the Burmese biography. Such evidence suggests that while correct layout was important, there was flexibility in fixing the distances between the central temple and the stations.[43]

All of which does not disprove Griswold's argument, which is based not merely on the orientations of the Seven Weeks Site, but also on their distances from the bodhi tree. As stated above, these distances correspond exactly to the Bodhgayā original. Given the relative dating of the Mahābodhi replicas and the *Tathagatha-oudana*, the latter's descriptions may very well have been based on the earlier architectural rendering.

Stadtner's argument against Dhammaceti's having sent an independent mission to Bodhgayā is ultimately dependant on two problematic assumptions that are common to the current discussions of these Mahābodhi replicas. The first is

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[41] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 217-8.

[42] D.M. Stadtner, "King Dhammaceti's Pegu," *Orientations* 21 (1990): 56.

[43] *idem*, 57.

that the journey to Bodhgayā would have been too difficult due to the Muslim invasion and subsequent repression of Buddhism. Stadtner therefore presumes that the fifteenth-century Mon and Thai replicas, the earliest outside of India, must be based on a preexisting, as yet unknown, replica.

The second assumption, stemming from the first, is that

> Buddhism in the Bodhgaya region had been steadily declining with the rise of Muslim dynasties in northern India and, as has long been recognized, Burma [read: Mon] had turned to Sri Lanka for its spiritual guidance. Had Dhammaceti wished to highlight the mission to Bodhgaya, there were ample opportunities during his long reign to express a connection with the real Buddhist homeland.[44]

Stadtner reasoned that the construction of a Mahābodhi replica was exclusively, or primarily, a religious act, but, as the following pages will show, it should primarily be seen as the act of a *cakravartin*, with its attendant political and religious ramifications.

INVESTING IN A *CAKRAVARTIN*

The fact that that fifteenth-century replicas of the Mahābodhi temple were based on independent missions to Bodhgayā, raises questions regarding the reasons why and in what context the kings of Pagán, Pegu and Chiang Mai undertook these massive construction projects. The answer will also illuminate the Chinese replicas' significance.

Pierre Pichard theorized briefly that the Pegu, Chiang Mai and Zhenjue Si temples may all have been built in response to the dawn of the "second millennia of

[44] Stadtner, "King Dhammaceti's Pegu," 56.

the Buddhist era in 1457 AD."[45] This followed Griswold's suggestion of pan-Asian influences that catalyzed the building of such temples. However, he discounted this position as the plans for the Zhenjue Si were available well before the temple's construction.[46] This argument is not decisive, since timing could have influenced the construction of these temples. Only a detailed examination of the individual circumstances will illuminate the motives behind their construction.

The second major explanation for these replicas is ease of pilgrimage. The idea that the Muslim invasion cut off pilgrimage places in India has been stated above. In a variant of this idea, that India was cut off for economic rather than military reasons, Griswold states,

> Journeys to such far-off places as Bodhgayā and Ceylon were beyond the reach of most people, but this sort of copying provided a substitute...By such means the stay-at-homes could be given the opportunity to make the same merit they would have got from worshipping at the original holy places, and to gain the same psychological advantages.[47]

A number of often competing assumptions underlie both explanations. People's inability to make pilgrimages to Indian sites such as Bodhgayā does not explain why there would suddenly be a need for their replicas in the fifteenth century. In this respect, the Muslim invasion explanation makes more sense, as temples such as the Mahābodhārāma would have been built as substitutes for the Mahābodhi temple for people who normally went to the Mahābodhi temple.

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[45] Pichard, "Postcolonial Reconstructions in Burma and Buddhist Replicas in Asia," 139.

[46] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 209.

[47] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 181-2.

However, this position is faulty, because pilgrims were never prevented from going to places such as Bodhgayā, even under Muslim occupation. Travel through India was sometimes unsafe, as attested in numerous travelogues written by intrepid pilgrims, but these were never sustained periods.[48] In addition, while the idea of replicas providing the same merit as original sites is widespread throughout the Buddhist world, from the famous Seiryōji icon in Japan to the many copies of the Jo Bo Śākyamuni image in Tibet, it is unclear to what extent people actually believed that these duplicates generated as much merit for the pilgrim as the original. Each temple needs to be examined in its specific historical context before forming any general theory of motivation.

The architectural relationship between Pagán and Bodhgayā starts in 1100, when King Kyanzittha organized the first Pagán mission to restore the now ruined Mahābodhi temple. The Mon inscription from Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome, states "The great temple built by King Dharmāśoka, which had by now fallen into utter ruin[49], his majesty proceeded to build anew, making it finer than ever before."[50]

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[48] See numerous instances in the biography of Chag Lo tsā ba (Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, xix, xxxii); see also Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Sdom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*, in *Sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum*, (Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968), 5:297.1.1-320.4.5, 32b.

[49] As Griswold notes, Blagden translates this as "which were old and in ruins." G.H. Luce deciphered a word Blagden could not make out and retranslated it as "which had fallen down beyond remedy (*patikāra*)." See Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 174.

[50] C. Duroiselle, ed., *Epigraphia Birmanica*, (Rangoon, 1919-), I/ii, 96. See the translation in Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 174 n. 3. The translation of Charles Duroiselle, published in the *Epigraphia Birmanica* (164) reads as follows: "the great buildings which King Dharmāsok built, which (were) old (and) in ruins, King

This inscription provides valuable historical information regarding Kyanzittha's role in the first mission, dates one restoration of the Mahābodhi temple, and illuminates the motives behind such an enterprise.

The inscription explicitly links the Indian King Aśoka and the Pagán King Kyanzittha.[51] Aśoka's convening of the Buddhist Council parallels Kyanzittha's activities: "the three holy Piṭakas, which had become obscured, (he) proceeded to collect (and) purify."[52] Kyanzittha is credited with building up the site around the Vajrāsana, in addition to rebuilding the Aśokan site. Kyanzittha's deeds are

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Śrī Tribhuwanādityadhamarāja proceeded to build anew, (making them) finer than before."

[51] While Aśoka was obviously not the only important Indian Buddhist king for the rulers of South- and Southeast Asia, his particular importance should not be doubted. When discussing the *cakravartin* ideal, Aśoka is widely cited as the "lesser" *cakravartin*. Despite his poor showing on the hierarchy of *cakravartins*, he is the only historical king of Buddhist India to be widely acknowledged as a *cakravartin*. In the present context of Thailand and Burma, kings such as Lü Thai in his *Traibhūmikathā* overtly refer to Aśoka as a *cakravartin*. See F. Reynolds and M. Reynolds, trans., *Three Worlds According to King Ruang: a Thai Buddhist Cosmology*, (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, 1982), 172, 188), whereas other popular kings such as Bimbisāra – who is mentioned after Aśoka in the *Traibhūmikathā* (*op. cit.*, 189-200) – do not receive this title. In addition, for the countries of Southeast Asia who drew religious inspiration and relics from Sri Lanka, Aśoka was also centrally important in conferring prestige on these Sri Lankan relics. It was, after all, Aśoka's son Mahinda who supposedly brought important relics of the Buddha from his father's various stūpas in India to Sri Lanka. This event, along with other events such as the Buddhist Council, which raised the profile of Aśoka, are set down in the *Mahāvamsa*, the great chronicle of the Sri Lankan Buddhist kings. Cf. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 23-4. With regard to Mahāyāna texts, one should keep in mind the frame story of the fifteenth-century (probably Newari Buddhist) *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, which constructs Aśoka as the paradigmatic Buddhist king in both literary and iconographic terms. Cf. W. Tuladhar-Douglas, *Remaking Buddhism for Medieval Nepal: The Fifteenth-Century Reformation of Newar Buddhism*, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 114-5. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind the interrelated nature of politics and religion, kingship and relics, such that the notion of a king as *cakravartin*, embodying political and religious concerns, should not be surprising.

[52] Prome inscription, line 3. *Epigraphia Birmanica*, 163.

identified as those expected of a *cakravartin*[53], from preaching the Dharma to popular acclaim to actively converting other princes to Buddhism. A Colī prince not only becomes a Buddhist convert, but also a vassal (in that the prince sends Kyanzittha offerings in an intentional blurring of the distinction between king and *bodhisattva/buddha*. This merging is exactly what a *cakravartin* embodies, as does a *buddha*.[54] In a further display of this king *cum* Buddha, the inscription relates the prophecies given about the birth of this extraordinary King Kyanzittha, foretold by the Buddha himself.

The association between Kyanzittha and Aśoka, evidenced by similar activities, by linking their names, presents Kyanzittha's deeds as a reflection of his place in Aśoka's lineage. This is also highlighted in what is not mentioned. That is, the renovations occurring between the time of Aśoka and Kyanzittha. As recorded by Xuanzang in the seventh century, the original temple, at the site of the Mahābodhi temple was built by Aśoka, was razed and replaced by the forbear of the current Mahābodhi temple by someone only known to Xuanzang as "Brahman." This Brahman is left out of the lineage comprising Aśoka and Kyanzittha.

Obviously, the temple would have had to be repaired many times between the original construction and the first Pagan mission. However, the Brahman's

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[53] On Kyanzittha's identification of himself as a *cakravartin*, see Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, 14. Kyanzittha's revision of the Tripiṭaka, rebuilding of the Mahābodhi temple, and refurbishment of Aśoka's stūpas are listed, in that order, in the inscriptional list of his accomplishments. See Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, 347.

[54] See especially S. Tambiah, *The Buddhist Conception of Universal King and its Manifestations in South and Southeast Asia*, (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1987) for references to the Buddha being treated, and decreeing that he should be treated, like a king.

story is so extraordinary that its omission is noteworthy in itself. This story appears in Xuanzang as well as in Chag Lo tsā ba,[55] proving that the tale circulated in the Bodhgayā area[56] between the seventh and thirteenth centuries. It would be unusual if the first Pagán mission (c. 1100) was unaware of this legend. Indeed, the Burmese inscription found in Bodhgayā itself may very well allude to it. As Rājendralāla Mitra states, "It would not be unreasonable to suppose that this Brāhman was the same with the Penthagoogyee, the pious layman of the Burmese record."[57]

Xuanzang's account is as follows:

> Formerly King Aśoka had built a small shrine at the site of the [present] shrine, and later a Brahman extended it. At first there was a Brahman who did not believe in the Buddha-dharma but worshipped the deity Maheśvara. He heard that the deity was living in the Snow Mountains, and so he went with his younger brother to seek the fulfillment of his wishes from the deity. The deity said, "Your wishes can be fulfilled only when you have done meritorious deeds. It is not that you can get things by saying prayers, nor can I make you satisfied." The Brahman said, "What meritorious deed should I do so that my mind can be satisfied?" The deity said, "If you wish to plant the seed of goodness, you should find the Field of Blessedness. As the Bodhi Tree is the place where the Buddha attained Buddhahood, you should quickly go back to the Bodhi Tree and build a great shrine, dig out a large pond, and make various offerings, and then your wishes will be fulfilled." Under the injunction of the deity, the Brahman cherished a mind of great faith and returned with his younger brother. The elder one built the shrine and the younger one excavated a pond. Then they made rich offerings to seek the fulfillment of their wishes. Finally they realized

[55] G. Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, 66-70.

[56] I am not asserting that the Mon in general were aware of Xuanzang or the Brahman's story, but that those who went to repair the Mahābodhi temple were.

[57] Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, (Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2005), 243. In fact, this "Penthagoogyee" is a phoneticization of (Srī Dharmarāja Guna) *paṁsukūlika*, a senior monk. See M.A. Aung-Thwin, *The Mists of Rāmañña: The Legend that was Lower Burma*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 188. See also Luce's translation of the Prome inscription below.

their wishes and became cabinet ministers to the king. Whatever emoluments or rewards they received they gave away as alms.

When the shrine was completed, artists were invited to make an image of the Tathāgata as he was at the time of attaining Buddhahood. But for a long time, nobody answered the call for the job. At last a Brahman came and said to the monks, "I am good at making fine images of the Tathāgata." The monks said, "What do you need for making the image?" The Brahman said, "I only need some scented clay and a lamp to be placed inside the shrine. When I have entered the shrine, the door should be tightly closed and opened after six months." The monks did as they were told. But when it was four days short of six months, they opened the door out of curiosity to see [what was going on]. They saw that the image inside the shrine was in the posture of sitting cross-legged facing the east, with the right foot upon [the left thigh]; The left hand was drawn back, and the right one pointed downward. It was just as if it were alive. The pedestal was four feet two inches high and twelve feet five inches wide, while the image was eleven feet five inches tall, the two knees being eight feet eight inches apart, and the breadth from one shoulder to another measured six feet two inches. All the auspicious physical symbols of a Buddha were complete, and its features of compassion were true to reality, except that a little spot above the right breast was unfinished. As they saw nobody in the shrine, they realized that there was a divine hand at work, and all the monks were filled with amazement and eagerly wished to know about the affair. One of the Śramaṇas, a man of simple and honest mind, had a dream in which he saw the Brahman, who said to him, "I am Maitreya Bodhisattva, and fearing that artists could not imagine the holy features of the Buddha, I came in person to make the image. It is made with the right hand pointing downward, because when the Tathāgata was about to attain Buddhahood, Māra came to disturb him, and the earth gods imformed him of Māra's arrival. One of the earth gods came out first to assist the Buddha in subjugating Māra, but the Tathāgata said to the god, 'Do not worry. I can surely subjugate him with the power of forbearance.' Māra said, 'Who will bear you witness?' The Tathāgata then pointed his hand to the earth while saying, 'This one here will bear me witness!' At that moment the second earth god emerged to bear witness. Therefore the image is made with the right hand pointing downward." The monks came to know that it was a divine manifestation, and all of them were moved to tears. The unfinished spot above the breast was made good with various gems, and the image was adorned with a necklace of

pearls, crowned with a coronet, and embellished with other ornaments.[58]

This passage is interesting for a number of reasons, some of which will be investigated in below, such as the somewhat detailed discussion of the statue's dimensions, as well as the belief that it wore a crown from the very beginning.[59] What matters here is the existenced of a tradition relating the original Aśokan vihāra to the vihāra associated with the unidentified brahmaṇa brothers.[60]

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[58] Xuanzang 玄奘 (596-664), *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions, Translated by the Tripitaka-Master Xuanzang under Imperial Order*, trans. Li Rongxi, (Berkeley: Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 1996), 247-9. T2087.51 916a5-916b8: 無憂王先建小精舍。後有婆羅門更廣建焉。初有婆羅門不信佛法。事大自在天。傳聞天神在雪山中。遂與其弟往求願焉。天曰。凡諸願求有福方果。非汝所祈。非我能遂。婆羅門曰。修何福可以遂心。天曰。欲植善種求勝福田。菩提樹者證佛果處也。宜時速反往菩提樹。建大精舍穿大水池。興諸供養所願當遂。婆羅門受天命。發大信心相率而返。兄建精舍弟鑿水池。於是廣修供養勤求心願。後皆果遂。爲王大臣。凡得祿賞皆入檀捨。精舍既成。招募工人欲圖如來初成佛像。曠以歲月無人應召。久之有婆羅門來告衆曰。我善圖寫如來妙相。衆曰。今將造像。夫何所須。曰香泥耳。宜置精舍之中。并一燈照。我入已堅閉其戶。六月後乃可開門。時諸僧衆皆如其命。尚餘四日未滿六月。衆咸駭異開以觀之。見精舍內佛像儼然結加趺坐。右足居上。左手斂右手垂。東面而坐。肅然如在。座高四尺二寸。廣丈二尺五寸。像高丈一尺五寸。兩膝相去八尺八寸。兩肩六尺二寸。相好具足慈顏若眞。唯右乳上圖瑩未周。既不見人方驗神鑒。衆咸悲歎慇懃請知。有一沙門宿心淳質。乃感夢見往婆羅門而告曰。我是慈氏菩薩。恐工人之思不測聖容。故我躬來圖寫佛像。垂右手者。昔如來之將證佛果。天魔來嬈地神告至。其一先出助佛降魔。如來告曰。汝勿憂怖。吾以忍力降彼必矣。魔王曰。誰爲明證。如來乃垂手指地言。此有證。是時第二地神踊出作證。故今像手倣昔下垂。衆知靈鑒莫不悲感。於是乳上未周填厠衆寶。珠纓寶冠奇珍交飾。

[59] B. Rowland, "The Bejeweled Buddha in Afghanistan," *Artibus Asie* 24, 1 (1961): 20-24. See also Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, 184ff. We might note that the characteristic *bhumisparśa mudrā* is the only characteristic separating this crowned *buddha* from the depiction of Mahāvairocana. The possible overlap of these two will become important in the next chapter.

[60] It may also be worth noting that Cunningham used Xuanzang's pre-Burmese mission descriptions of the vihāra to date the original Mahābodhi vihāra to

The first Burmese inscription,[61] considered to date to the time of Kyanzittha's first mission to Bodhgayā,[62] relates a similar tale. Here again, the original vihāra is built by King Aśoka, falls into disrepair, and is refurbished by the *paṁsukūlika.* Having again experienced the ravages of time, an unnamed king Thado repaired it. Some time later, repair is again required. At this point,

> The lord of the white elephant and king of righteousness sent, as his representative, his teacher Sri Dhamma Rajguna, who was accompanied by his disciple Katheba Thera. Not being able to perform the work, although he had money to do it, the lord of the 100,000 Pyoos made a priest, Waradi, to undertake the work, and spared the lesser lord of the Pyoos and prime minister, Ratha, for it.[63]

King Kyanzittha is not explicitly mentioned, and thus his patronage of the mission depends on the date ascribed to the inscription. Mitra noted that the inscription is not actually in proper Burmese, but rather in an Arakanese dialect, and opines that the lord of the white elephant mentioned refers to Alaungsituo of Pagán, who sent his teacher to repair the shrine. When this could not be done, the king of Arakan, Ming Lekyah, who was as ardent and industrious a Buddhist as

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somewhere between 100 B.C. and A.D. 100. See Rājendralāla Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, 245-7. There are, of course, alternative theories as to the date of the founding of this vihāra, such as that of Fergusson, who thought it was built in the sixth century by Amara Deva (based on a Wilmot's potentially mythical inscription). Note also that Fergusson notions of the radiating arches characteristic of the Mahābodhi vihāra directly oppose those of Griswold, cited above. See especially, J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, (Delhi: LP Publications, 1997 [1910]), 79.

[61] Old Burmese inscription no. 13; see R. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, 209-211.

[62] The date of this inscription, and therefore of the patronage of the mission, is not uncontested. See note above, and R. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, 206-211. See note following Luce's revised translation below.

[63] R. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, 209-210.

Alaungsithu, undertook the repairs on his own volition or at the request of the Pagán king. Hence, the Arakanese dialect.

However, this inscription was revised by Gordon Luce and Colonel Ba Shin, resulting in a more authoritative version cited by Griswold:

> ...after Asoka, when the temple had fallen into ruin from the long passage of time, a great *paṁsukūlika* rebuilt it. Later on, when once more it had fallen into ruin, our beloved King (*satuiw maṅ*, i.e. Kyanzittha) rebuilt it. Later still when it fell into ruin again, Dhammarāja, the Lord of the White Elephant, sent his ācārya, Siri Dhammarājaguru, (to Bodhgayā) to represent him. (The ācārya) took his pupil Siri Kassapa with him. When the provision made for expenses proved insufficient for the work, (the ācārya) invited a Vanavāsī monk to receive donations from King Buddhasena (apparently a local Rājā)[64]. King Buddhasena said, "Let it be done." So saying, he granted permission to the junior monk and the revered thera (to proceed). On Friday the 10th day of the waxing moon of Plasuiw, in the year 657 (December 1295 or January 1296) they commenced the repairs. On Sunday the eighth day of the waxing

[64] The mention of Buddhasena here should not be dismissed so lightly. He is, in fact, the subject of some controversy surrounding the dating of the Lakśmaṇasena era and the Jānībighā inscription. This inscription is instructive for assessing the late survival of Buddhism in the Bodhgayā area. As Buddhasena (of the Chhinda dynasty, not the Bengal Senas) is also mentioned in the biography of Chag Lo tsā ba, we know he ruled during 1234-36, when Chag Lo tsā ba toured the area. Partially based on this evidence, B.P. Sinha thought his regnal period extended to at least 1270. Based of the Burmese inscription, his reign seems to have lasted until at least 1296. Such a long ruling era beggars belief, especially since the Jānībighā inscription of Buddhasena's son, Jayasena is usually dated to 1283. If this inscription was found anywhere but in Bodhgayā, we might well think that Buddhasena served more as a rhetorical device (for the purposes of the inscription) than historical person. Since the inscription was actually found in Bodhgayā, where the authors would have known who the ruler at the time actually was, the dating is curious and warrants further investigation. Cf. B.P. Sinha, "Fresh Light on the Lakshmaṇasena Era and Connected Problems," 76-81. Comparing Śāriputra's account with Tāranātha's history of India, king Ciṅgalarāja should have been in charge of the Bodhgayā area at about thi time.

> moon of Tanchonmhun in the year 660 (October-November 1298)[65] the dedication was held...[66]

Therefore, it seems that while Kyanzittha was clearly given credit as the patron of the first Pagan mission to Bodhgayā, this inscription may be considered a record of that event, or a later, thirteenth-century refurbishment. Even if this records a later mission, it quite explicitly places its patron in the lineage of Kyanzittha and Aśoka.

The Mon inscription at Prome credits Kyanzittha with the first mission to Bodhgayā, the result of a personal prophecy. This inscription elides all intermediaries between Aśoka and Kyanzittha. Kyanzittha here says he built the vihāra anew, making it finer than ever before. In this inscription, there is no doubt that "rebuilt" rather than "repaired" is the intended meaning.[67] Was the Pagán replica of the Mahābodhi vihāra a conscious replica of Kyanzittha's Bodhgayā Mahābodhi vihāra? Was Kyanzittha's rebuilding of the Aśokan vihāra forgotten

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[65] According to Aung-Thwin (*The Mists of Rāmañña*, 189), these dates are, respectively, December/January 1079 and October/November 1086.

[66] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 177. In comparing this translation to that cited by Mitra above, Griswold notes, "The dates having been wrongly read by all the translators, were wrongly amended by Cunningham...One of the translators, by taking the words *putasein maṅ* ('King Buddhasena') to mean 'lord of 100,000 Pyu,' created an imaginary title." He is referring to the translation in Mitra, cited above. While Luce argues that the inscription places the mission in the thirteenth-century, Aung-Thwin (*The Mists of Rāmañña*, 187-193) has recently provided evidence that Cunningham's original assessment was correct in his reading of the inscription, indicating that the mission took place during Kyanzittha's reign in the eleventh century. If *putasein maṅ* refers to the thirteenth-century King Buddhasena, this strengthens Luce's argument, but as seen below, Buddhasena is a problematic figure in these inscriptions. Ultimately, this is a conundrum that must be left to scholars of Burma.

[67] For the discussion over the use of these words in the translation of Old Burmese inscription no. 13, see Mitra, *Buddha Gayā: The Hermitage of Śākya Muni*, 207.

later on? How different was his structure from the preceding ones? These questions remain unanswered. It is clear, however, that the milieu surrounding the Bodhgayā vihāra, including Pagán pilgrims, was very different from that surrounding the pilgrimage sites in Arimadanna itself, even those supposedly bestowing the same benefits as that of going to India.

Kyanzittha's knowledge of the Mahābodhi vihāra refurbishments, and the link between himself and Aśoka in the Prome inscription shows how important the Aśokan concept was in Kyanzittha's public persona. The later missions to Bodhgayā by Pagán, Pegu and the neighboring kingdoms must be viewed in light of Kyanzittha's initial mission.[68] The Mahābodhi vihāra, central to Kyanzittha's identification with King Aśoka, influenced later construction of Mahābodhi replicas by Kyanzittha's successors.

The later missions to Bodhgayā and construction of the Mahābodhi replicas were also influenced by other factors, including desire to revive or restore a flagging or failing monastic community, undermined by purges of anti-Buddhist, or corruption within the sangha. It is remarkable, however, that these events took place around the time of the two-thousandth anniversary of the Buddhadharma, at which time, the Buddhadharma was prophesied to begin its final waning.

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[68] This is not to say that the later kings who built Mahābodhi replicas, like Tīlokarāja, were *only* referencing Kyanzittha. Rather, one could say that Kyanzittha established a "lineage of conduct." Each succeeding king who wished to identify himself with Aśoka in a similar manner to Kyanzittha then referenced the whole lineage, not just Kyanzittha. This allows the Aśokan idiom to evolve, as any lineage does. For example, Tīlokarāja building the Mahābodhārāma in Chiang Mai instead of refurbishing the Mahābodhi vihāra itself.

Since at least the second century AD, prophecies were current that some (variable) years after the parinirvāna of the Buddha, the *dharma* would disappear. The earliest sources that reveal the exact number of years for this decline to occur give the *dharma* five hundred years.[69] From the time of Buddhaghoṣa (fifth century), the life expectancy of the *dharma* was extended to five thousand years, and became the standard timetable for Theravāda countries.[70] King Lü Tai (aka Lithai, Phya Lithai, Lidaiya Mahādharmarāja I, Thamaracha I, r. 1346/7-1374)[71] of Sukhodaya was particularly obsessed with this prophecy, and gave it prominence in his Nagara Jum inscription, composed some twelve years after completing his monumental work of Buddhist cosmology and ethics, the *Traibhūmikathā*.[72] Here, he

[69] J. Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, Nanzan Studies in Asian Religions, (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 28.

[70] As Nattier points out, Buddhaghoṣa is the only non-*Mahāyāna* source which gives a duration for the *buddhadharma* of over one thousand years (*op. cit.*, 56).

[71] This was the son of King Lö Tai (aka Lelithai, Phya Lelithai, Loethai, Pho Khun Loethai, d. 1347), who himself was quite pious and collected relics from throughout India and Sri Lanka. As discussed below, Lütai commissioned a number of footprints of the Buddha to be erected, in particular a replica of the Buddha's footprint on mount Sumanakūṭaparvata in Sri Lanka to be erected in his own kingdom, on a mountain henceforth bearing the same name, Sumanakūṭaparvata. See George Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, (Bangkok: Bangkok times press, 1924), 127 & 89-90 (Nagara Jum inscription). There is some controversy over whether this footprint should be attributed to Lö Tai or his son Lü Tai; see George Cœdès, *Les États hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1948), 366 n. 3 & 4.

[72] Cœdès dates the Stele of Nagara Jum inscription to AD 1357 (M.S. 1279). Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 78. Reynolds dates the completion of the *Traibhūmikathā* to 1348 (Reynolds and Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, 5). Note that while Andaya (4) implies that King Lü Thai included this prophecy in his *Traibhūmikathā*, this is not correct. To my knowledge, it is only found in this inscription. Note that this inscription commemorated not only the bringing to

calculated that two thousand years after the parinirvāna, the first phase of this gradual waning would begin:

> In the year of the boar, ninety-nine years from the year this relic is enshrined, the Three Piṭakas will disappear. There will be no one who really knows them, though there will still be some who know a little bit of them.[73]

This would be accompanied by the inability of people to recite jātakas and abhidharma, followed by a further decline every thousand years. Next, monks would cease observing their vows. A millennium later, the robes would go. Finally, no one would even know what the robes or a śramaṇa had been. At that, the holy relics would fly away.[74]

Sukhodaya of a Great Relic (probably intended to indicate a relic brought by Mahinda), but also the elevation of Lü Thai to the title of Śrīsūryavaṃśa Mahādharmarājādhirāja (Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 84), which seems to have enabled him to send for this relic. One should note the obvious *cakravartin* overtones, as opposed to Andaya's assertion that "he disclaims any pretensions to *cakravartin* status" (B. Andaya, "Statecraft in the Reign of Lü Tai of Sukhodaya (ca. 1347-1374)," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, edited by Bardwell Smith, (Chambersberg, PA: Anima Books, 1978), 13).

The attribution of the *Traibhūmikathā* to King Lü Thai is nor uncontested, particularly by Michael Vickery. Cf. M. Vickery, "A Note of the Date of the *Traibhūmikathā*," *Journal of the Siam Society* 62, 2, (1974): 275-84; M. Vickery, "On *Traibhūmikathā*," *Journal of the Siam Society* 79, 2, (1991): 24-36. See also, Anne Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," *Buddhist Studies Review* 24, 2, (2007): 208, n. 34.

[73] Griswold and Prasert, *Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, 453. Compare Cœdès: "Dans quatre-vingt-dix-neuf and comptés depuis l'année de la fondation de cette Grande Relique-ci, dans l'année du Porc, le Tripiṭaka disparaîtra. Il n'y aura plus personne le conaissant rĕelement; il n'y aura plus que des gens le conaissant un tout petit peu" (Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 85). Citing this same passage, Griswold notes, "The year of the Boar would fall mainly in 1455, partly in 1456, though by the modern Siamese reckoning the year 2000 of the Buddhist Era would be mainly 1457." Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 179 n. 12.

[74] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 86. Andayas states that this may be based on Buddhagoṣa's commentary on the dialogue between Nāgasena and King

Menander. "Stretching over five thousand years, this deterioration would be marked by the successive disappearance of, firstly, the acquisition of the degrees of sanctity; secondly, the observation of the precepts; thirdly, the knowledge of the scriptures; fourthly, the exterior signs of Buddhism; and, lastly, by the disappearance of the corporeal relics," Andaya, "Statecraft in the Reign of Lü Tai of Sukhodaya (ca. 1347-1374)," 4. However, Griswold points out that "In rehearsing the prophecy Mahādharmarājā was apparently relying on a text which was analogous to Buddhagosa's but not identical to it, because he reverses the order of the second and third disappearances...For Mahādharmarājā, the second disappearance is that of the Tripiṭaka, while the third is that of the monastic rules and moral precepts." (Griswold and Prasert, *Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, 453 n. 42.

It is interesting to note that according to the Nagara Jum inscription, at the end of the fifth period, the worldwide distribution of relics will alight and fly to Sri Lanka. "Here they will disappear into the sacred Bodhi tree," stated Andera (*op. cit.*, 5). One might infer that they are dissolving into the Bodhi tree in Sri Lanka, which grew from a clipping of the Mahābodhi tree brought to Sri Lanka at the behest of Aśoka's son, Mahinda (according to the *Mahāvamsa*). This is not the case. Cœdès' translation reads "toutes les saint reliques...iront se rassembler à Laṅkādvīpa et entreront à l'interieur du Ratnamālika-mahāstūpa. Ensuite elles s'envoleront et entreront dans le saint Arbre de la Bodhi sous lequel le Maître atteignit l'omniscience d'un Buddha" (Cœdès: 1924, 86). Compare Griswold and Prasert: "On that day, all the Lord's relics on this earth, as well as in the Devaloka and Nāgaloka, will fly through the sky, assemble together in Laṅkādvīpa, enter the Ratanamālikamahāstūpa, and then fly to the śrīmahābodhi tree where the Lod Buddha attained the omniscience of Buddhahood long ago. Then a huge fire will consume all the relics completely, and the flames will leap up to the Brahmaloka: the Buddha's religion will disappear on that day as declared" (Griswold and Prasert 1992, 455). It may be worth noting that the Ratnamālikamahāstūpa was built at the behest of the same Mahinda to house a quantity of the Buddha's relics. Built by Aśoka's son, this stūpa embodies the legacies of both Buddha and *Cakravartin.* The inscription is quite clear that the indicated Bodhi tree is located in India, not Sri Lanka. Further evidence is provided in the *Traibhūmikathā*, when discussing the beginning of a *kalpa* (Reynolds, *Three Worlds According to King Ruang*, 317): "In the Jambu continent where we live the great Bodhi tree arises first. (When there is consuming fire, it is the last thing to be burned.) It is this specific place, where every Lord Buddha attains Enlightenment, that develops and becomes the Jambu continent." Hence, one can see that, for Lü Thai at least, there is only one Vajrāsana, one place where all Buddhas attain enlightenment. The relics thus fly first to the Sri Lankan Ratnamālika-mahāstūpa, and thence to the original Bodhi tree. This tree is consumed by fire as the final event of a *kalpa.* The gathering of relics as the final stage of the Buddhadharma accords with Buddhagosa's commentary, who adds that, after flying to Bodhgayā, the relics will form an image of the Buddha before being engulfed in flames (Griswold and Prasert, *Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, 453 n. 40).

As will be seen below, this text – as well as the *Traibhūmikathā* – addressed both the state of Buddhism and the ethics of kingship. For Lü Tai, a state of spiritual decline made an ethical king even more imperative. According to Andaya, Lü Tai was not alone in his concern for the *dharma.* As the year of the Boar approached, the anxiety of Buddhist commentators grew.[75] Not only the religious hierarchs, but also the political hierarchs seemed to have been concerned, and it is no coincidence that long after king Lü Tai's death, Tilokarāja, ruling from Lân Nâ, ordered the foundations to be laid in 1455 for the Mahābhodārāma, the Mahābodhi replica also known as Wat Jet Yòt.

However, King Lü Tai and those around him were not content to simply wait for the year of the boar to materialize. His father, the King Lö Tai, established many reliquaries in and around Sudhodana, while Lü Tai's close relative (possibly his brother) was the noted Mahāthera Śrīsradharājāculāmuni Śrīratanalaṅkādīpa Mahāsāmī. This mahāthera lived an ascetic life "acting in all things in imitation of the Siṅhala monks."[76] However, despite his self-identification as a monk in the Siṅhalese tradition, and the salient role played by Sri Lanka in the entrenchment of the Sukhodaya kingdom, when he went on pilgrimage, it was not to Sri Lanka, but to Northern India, traversing a route from Sukhodaya through the Northern Thai kingdoms and what is today Southern Burma to Pāṭaliputra and Coḷamaṇḍala. Aside from demonstrating that there was an at least somewhat well-established

[75] Andaya, "Statecraft in the Reign of Lü Tai of Sukhodaya," 4.

[76] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 62; cited in Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 178.

route leading from northern Thailand to Northeast India, which will become important later when discussing links between the Mon kingdoms and Bengal in particular, demonstrates that even established, self-identified members of the Theravāda monastic tradition (and the monarchy) still recognized the possibility and importance of pilgrimage to Northern India as late as the fourteenth century. Whether this was the record of an actual or imagined pilgrimage is not important here. Indeed, the route "to the Kaliṅga country, to Pāṭaliputra, to Coḷamaṇḍala, to the kingdom of the Mallas, and all the way to Sri Lanka to try and find great and precious relics"[77] seems rather circuitous, as the mahāthera would have had to have traveled by land or sea to Kaliṅga (blessed with a well-known port), thence north to the pilgrimage sites along the route to king Aśoka's capital of Pāṭaliputra, before turning south again to Coḷamaṇḍala, returning to the northern Malla kingdom, and finally moving south yet again, passing once more through the Coḷa lands and continuing on to Sri Lanka. It may also be worth noting that the Coḷa dynasty had lost power since the beginning of the fourteenth century. It is possible that the pilgrimage actually took place and Coḷamaṇḍala was preserved as a place-name even after the dynasty's fall.

The question of the Mallas is more interesting. The Mallas were an important dynasty for both Buddhists and non-Buddhists residing in their North Indian stronghold, and are mentioned often in Buddhist and Jain works. However, their power waxed and waned several times, and by the time of the mahāthera's

[77] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, 148; cited in Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 178.

pilgrimage, the kingdom of the Mallas might properly refer to the Newar kingdom of Nepal rather than to their former base in what is now considered to be Northeast India. Thus, when this mahāthera mentions the kingdom of the Mallas, our reading of the inscription hinges on whether or not he went to Nepal, as one would be hard-pressed to find a Malla kingdom in India in the fourteenth century. Like the Coḷamaṇḍala, however, the nomenclature of "Malla kingdom" may simply refer to the Indian geographical designations understood by the writer of the inscription rather than to a contemporary geographical designation understood by his Indian counterparts. Further, it could also be that he never went to India at all and that this pilgrimage route delineated an ideal India, naming kingdoms whose rulers at one time patronized Buddhism.

The latter scenario seems more likely, given the mahāthera's extremely circuitous route. This would assume that the inscription's author lacked any knowledge of Indian geography, if not the mahāthera himself. As stated above, this was not an ordinary monk, but a close relation of the pious king Lü Tai, suggesting perhaps that the Sukhodaya king, and thence the central Thai government, shared the mahāthera's ignorance of Indian geography. The relationship also suggests that the mahāthera was capable of funding an extensive and peregrinating journey to India. If the pilgrim indeed lacked substantial knowledge of Indian geography, the possibility that he went to India and traveled in circles is still valid. This complexity of interpretation when considering epigraphy's literary or historical import is important to bear in mind as seen in the above discussion of Buddhasena.

Lü Thai himself commissioned four sets of Buddha footprints in the 1350s. As noted above, these footprints were replicas of those found in Sri Lanka's Adam's Peak. Lü Thai established his replicas on hilltops as well,[78] and the Nagara Jum inscription makes the link with the Sri Lankan originals clear[79] as does renaming the peak after the Sri Lankan original.[80]

Anne Blackburn has stated that "the installation of Buddha footprints on these sites served as an opportunity for the articulation of royal authority (real or imagined) in relation to competition from other *müang* (city-state) centers."[81] She also discusses Griswold's interpretations. The first being:

> And when a ruler wishes to signify that in his land "Buddha's religion will flourish," he can hardly do better than to install such seals on hilltops near his principal cities, at the same time ordering his sculptors to make images of the lord of the world himself converting the people and impressing his Footprint.[82]

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[78] These peaks are Nakhon Sawān (Braḥ Pāṅ), Bang Phān (Pāṅ Bān), Si Sajjanalai and Sukhothai. Cf. B. Gosling, *Sukhothai: Its History, Culture, and Art*, (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991), 70-71; A. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, *Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, (Bangkok: Historical Society, 1992), 464. Cited in Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 195.

[79] Griswold and Prasert, *Epigraphical and Historical Studies*, 465.

[80] Other representations were available, such as the vastly more elaborate Pagán *buddhapāda*, making it more significant that the Sri Lankan *buddhapāda* were chosen for replication.

[81] Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 195.

[82] A.B. Griswold, *The Buddhas of Sukhodaya*, typescript copy held in the Cornell University Library (n.d.): 57; cited in Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 199.

Griswold also argued that these sites "created opportunities for local pilgrimage and ritual action in mainland Southeast Asia."[83] While Blackburn goes on to cite Griswold's theory that by naming a site in Chiang Mai after an India site, the pilgrim received the same merit and psychological advantages as making a pilgrimage to the original Indian site, this may be overstating the case. As Blackburn herself warns at the beginning of her essay, "I certainly do not assume that the patron's vision of his or her altered landscape (its aims, its effects) was something received with uniformity. There would have been, presumably, a range of responses, affected by very personal experiences as well as by social location."[84] All we can say for certain is that these *Buddhapādas* created opportunities for local pilgrimage, as this is a very overt concern in the inscription. These replicas' ability to duplicate the merit obtained from visiting the Sri Lankan original relates to their the popular reception, for which anthropological evidence is lacking.

Blackburn cites the work of Ian Reader on the miniaturization of pilgrimage routes to Japan to strengthen her argument that the Sukhothai *buddhapāda* may have been a localization of previously transnational pilgrimage routes.[85] Yet whether a condensed pilgrimage (such as viewing the Stations of the Cross) carried the same symbolic capital as a longer pilgrimage (such as a pilgrimage to Jerusalem) remains unclear.[86] Reader points out that miniaturized versions of the Shikoku

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[83] Blackburn, *ibid.*

[84] *idem*, 195.

[85] Ian Reader, "Miniatuization and Proliferation: A Study of Small-Scale Pilgrimages in Japan," *Studies in Central & East Asian Religions* 1 (1988): 50-66.

[86] We will have occasion to revisit this analogy below.

pilgrimage were often created for the benefit of those without the requisite time needed for the full-scale pilgrimage. "The pilgrimage was really only accessible to those who could leave home for many months, who had sufficient funds to permit this or who were prepared to endure the hardships of begging for sustenance. For most people in most parts of the country, then, the Shikoku pilgrimage was not a very realistic prospect."[87] This should be kept in mind when considering the Mahābodhi replicas as well. Reader has not presumed to state that pilgrims consider the merit gained from a miniature version of the nation-wide pilgrimage route equivalent to undertaking the large-scale version. The creators of these miniatures tried to bring authenticity to their new routes, such as bringing soil from the original sites to the corresponding sites in the miniature version.[88] As with the Sukhothai *buddhapāda*, replicating the form of the original site may have been insufficient to attract pilgrims or prestige.

The *buddapāda*'s attractivenes may have been augmented by their location on mountain peaks, sites of protection as the abode of mountain spirits.[89] They therefore may have drawn prestige from their site, as well as from the relics that

[87] Reader, "Miniaturization and Proliferation," 55.

[88] Reader reports that there is a sign on one of these sites containing Shikoku soil, stating that undertaking this pilgrimage is "equal in merit to Shikoku itself." Reader, "Miniaturization and Proliferation," 60. Signs from other miniature routes state that they were designed specifically so that the poor or infirm could undertake such a pilgrimage. While Reader has shown that these alternative pilgrimages are popular, he does not discuss, or aim to discuss, how pilgrims think of one route versus the other. Such a "lived religion" methodology may provide useful perspectives on how we think of the reception of replicas in general.

[89] Cf. H.G. Quaritch Wales, *Siamese State Ceremonies: Their History and Function*, (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1931), 301; Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 210 n. 40.

were housed nearby, as in the case of the Sukhothai footprint. In addition, the lure of the exotic also mattered. If Griswold and Blackburn are correct, sites targeting those unable to muster the resources to travel to India or Sri Lankan, bringing to Sukhothai images of distant and potent places, may have exhibited their own draw to pilgrims as curiosities.[90]

Blackburn also points out that Lü Thai's self-conscious ties to Sri Lanka "should be understood as participation in a cluster of arguments about authority, potency and purity already underway within his realm."[91] The particular lineages Lü Thai brought from Sri Lanka, and the monasteries he established to house them, bore some relation to the political maneuvering with other claimants to the throne of Sukhodaya.[92] However, they were concomitantly meant to "offer immediate and longer-term comfort and protection"[93] to the kingdom, as they are sites of personal and communal merit-making and "part of an effort to draw protective power toward *müang* Sukhothai and [Lü Thai's] rule by establishing the wish-fulfilling footprints at particularly potent locations."[94]

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[90] Cf. E.H. Schafer. *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics*, (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1963, 122-123 (Bodhi trees) and 265-268 (relics and images). As an exotic, the fact that these footprints were engraved with the marks of Buddhahood from the Burmese, and not the Sri Lankan, tradition would be irrelevant, as both may have been equally unfamiliar to the average pilgrim.

[91] Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 201.

[92] As we will see in the next chapter, this jockeying for political legitimacy can also be seen in the Yongle emperor's reception of Śāriputra.

[93] *ibid.*, 205.

[94] *ibid.*, 210

When the Northern Thai kingdom of Lân Nâ needed to strengthen its monastic tradition, the aid of King Lü Tai was called upon. Thereupon, the miraculous relic of Sumana was sent north from Sukhodaya.[95] Perhaps Lü Tai's concern with the prophecy of decline also impressed Lân Nâ kings.[96] This prophecy may have been amplified in the mind of the King Tilokarāja despite (or indeed because of) his father Sâm Fâng Gèn (Tissaraja), who renounced Buddhism in favor of the spirit cult. It was during the reign of Tilokarāja that the prophesied Year of the Boar came about, and it did not pass unnoticed. In the Year of the Boar (1455) Tilokarāja founded the Mahābodhārāma temple discussed above. He also planted a cutting of a bodhi tree descended from the Bodhgayā tree, surrounding it with a balustrade, and replicas of the Seven Holy Places (*sattamahāṭhāna*), and in this way made the replica conform to the original Mahābodhi temple.[97]

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[95] Hans Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index: An Annotated Index to the Thailand Part of Ratanapañña's Chronicle Jinakālamālī*, (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1994), 186-189; Donald Swearer and Sommai Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand (14th-16th centuries)," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, ed. Bardwell L. Smith, (Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books, 1978), 23-4.

[96] As Swearer points out, Sumana (from Sukhothai) seemed familiar with the "mythical-legendary" origin stories of Northern Thailand when founding his Wat Phra Yün in Lamphūn (Haripuñjaya) (Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 25), so it would not be strange for at least the royalty of Northern Thailand to be familiar with the prophetic musings of king Lü Tai. Swearer and Premchit further note that when Tilokarāja was ordained as a monk, he may have been citing the same act of Lü Tai (*op. cit.* 30).

[97] Penth *Jinakālamālī Index*, 215. It is worth noting that this tree had been brought from Sri Lanka and planted at the foot of Dòi Suthep. It was then transplanted to the Mahābodhārāma site, according to the *Jinakālamālī* (cf. Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index*, 215; N.A. Jayawickrama, trans., *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror: Being a Translation of* Jinakālamālīpakaraṇaṁ *of Ratanapañña Thera of Thailand,*

The date on which construction of the Mahābodhārāma was completed is unclear because the main source of its construction, the *Jinakālamālī*, records the date for the initiation of the project, but not the date of completion. This text is missing a page, on which the dedication of the site may have been recorded.[98] In 1477, Tilokarāja reportedly convened a council for the revision of scriptures, the Eighth Buddhist Council (according to Thai reckoning), at the Mahābodhārāma.[99] During the interim period, one may recall, the Mòn King Dhammaceti was sending

(London: Pali Text Society, 1968), 139), whereas the *Tamnān Wat Jet Yòt* indicates that Tilokarāja took a shoot from the Dòi Suthep tree and planted it on the grounds of the new monastery (Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires," 42-3). Thus, the Bodhi tree incorporated the prestige of both Sri Lanka and the mountain Dòi Suthep. The foot of the mountain was also the location of Wat Pā Däng, the home of the lineage of monks patronized by Tilokarāja, and the compilers of the *Jinakālamālī*. One should therefore not discount the possibility of the Bodhi tree's peregrinations as a literary metaphor for the Wat Pā Däng monks' own fortunes.

[98] Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires, a Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiengmai," 43; Penth states that as the *Jinakālamālī* (JKM) does not mention any events between 1455-1476, "it seems that a whole section of JKM was lost from an early JKM manuscript and that all now known versions of JKM are derived from that one deficient manuscript" (Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index*, 218).

[99] This council is not described in the *Jinakālamālī*. Given that this council would have occurred within the dates unaccounted for in this text (n. 57), this does not rule out the possibility that such a council occurred. The only historical source mentioning this council is the *Tamnān Wat Jet Yòt*. However, as Hutchinson notes, the *Jinakālamālī* refers back to the Council of 1477 apropos of repairs done to the library erected by Tilokarāja to house the cleansed Tripitaka (Hutchinson, "The Seven Spires, a Sanctuary of the Sacred Fig Tree at Chiengmai," 43-4). There is no doubt that in this period, monastic disputes were rampant, which Donald Swearer attributes, in part, to sectarian fighting focused on *vinaya* rules (Swearer & Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 28). Such a Council, overseen by Tilokarāja who was partial to one sect, would have been a good way to assert that sect's authority over the other lineages, as well as Tilokarāja's authority overall.

his own mission to the Mahābodhi temple in an effort to built a duplicate in Pegu, which was dedicated in 1479.[100]

The precedent for such construction projects is clearly King Aśoka, probably via King Kyanzittha of Pagán. If there is some reference to King Natonmya (r. 1210-1234) during whose reign the Pagán Mahābodhi temple is thought to have been built,[101] it is unclear. King Kyanzittha's inscription discussed above overtly establishes him as a successor to the legendary king Aśoka with respect to their building of the Mahābodhi vihāra. When Kyanzittha rebuilds Aśoka's vihāra, he takes on Aśoka's legacy. What then is the function of rebuilding Aśoka's vihāra in another country? In Dhammaceti's and Tilokarāja's cases, it seems that the two kings were seeking to appropriate the Aśokan legacy as well.

According to Stadtner, Dhammaceti overtly likened himself to Aśoka. Stadtner notes that "Dhammaceti is remembered for his role in 'purifying' the Buddhist community."[102] Tilokarāja links this purification overtly with the Aśokan legacy. He goes beyond simply recreating the Mahābodhi temple, he recreates its function by employing another Aśokan trope: the Buddhist council. King Aśoka is credited in the fifth chapter of the *Mahavamsa* with assembling the Third Buddhist Council in A.D. 250 at his capital, Pāṭaliputra. By convening the (Eighth) Buddhist Council in his own capital, Chiang Mai, on the site of his replica of the Mahābodhi

[100] Stadtner, "King Dhammaceti's Pegu," 55.

[101] Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," 201. Indeed, the circumstances surrounding the construction of the Pagán temple seem to be thinly researched.

[102] Stadtner, "King Dhammaceti's Pegu," 53. As seen above, and as will be shown below, most influential kings are remembered as purifying the Buddhist community.

vihāra, and so bringing two Aśokan legacies together in himself, he seems to be linking himself quite strongly to Aśoka and thus to the ideal of a Dharmarāja and *Cakravartin*.[103]

The relationship between this act of binding himself to Aśoka and the prophecy of the Year of the Boar is not so obvious. It may be that a *cakravartin* of the Aśokan type could have the power to hold back the decline of Buddhism, or perhaps Tilokarāja saw himself as somehow able to make his northern kingdom a bulwark of pure Buddhism upon which the waves of the degenerate age would break. To this effect, Tilokarāja circumscribed, within his own kingdom, all the essentials of a complete Buddhist kingdom: a cakravartin/dharmarāja (himself) as the ideal patron, the navel of Buddhism and seat of enlightenment for all Buddhas (Mahābodhārāma), and a pure *saṅgha* following a pure dharma as the result of the Buddhist council.

In this context, it is worth reflecting on Geertz's analysis of the Bali court's response to decline. He states

> The decline was the way history had happened to happen, not the way it had had to happen. Consequently, the efforts of men, especially of their spiritual and political leaders, ought to be directed neither toward reversing history (which as events are incorrigible is impossible), nor celebrating it (which as it amounts to a series of retreats from an ideal would be pointless), but rather toward nullifying it - toward reexpressing directly, immediately, and with the greatest possible force and vividness the cultural paradigm by which the men of Gègèl and Majapahit had guided their lives...For all their explanatory mythmaking, the Balinese search the past not so much for the causes of the present as for the standard by which to

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[103] The language of the *Jinakālamālī* makes the link between Tilokarāja and *cakravartin*s such as Aśoka clear in consistently naming him "The Cakravartin Sridhamma."

> judge it; that is, for the unchanging pattern upon which the present ought properly to be modeled, but which through accident, ignorance, indiscipline, or neglect it so often fails to follow.[104]

This statement about the Balinese court is applicable to the court of Tilokarāja. He looks to the Aśokan legacy as a paradigm of kingly rule. He may live in a time of decline, marked by the Year of the Boar, but his response is neither a nostalgic hearkening back to the time of Aśoka, nor a celebration of his own time (as the prophecy makes explicit reference to his time being one of the decline of Buddhism). Rather, he re-expresses the paradigm of Aśoka as vividly as he can, through the construction of the Mahābodhārāma temple and his reformation of the *saṅgha* via the trope of a Buddhist Council.

Was this council necessary or was it performance? During the reign of Tilokarāja's father, despite or because of his rejection of Buddhism, twenty-five monks from Chiang Mai traveled to Sri Lanka to learn Laṅka script and the proper chanting of the scriptures. In addition, unsure of the validity of their own monastic vows, they renewed their ordinations with the Sri Lankan *saṅgha.*[105] Upon their return to Lân Nâ in 1430, they attained royal patronage (except from Tilokarāja's father, who expelled them from Chiang Mai[106]) and over the next decade spread this new ordination lineage quite extensively. One might speculate whether the disputes between the older Sumana order and the newer Sīhala order formed the

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[104] Geertz, *Negara*, 18.

[105] Cœdès, *Recueil des inscriptions du Siam*, (Bangkok: M.C. Piyarangsit Rangsit, 1962), 104; Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 26-9.

[106] Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 29.

true purpose for Tilokarāja to call the Council, or if it was more a case of Tilokarāja formally announcing his favor and patronage on the new Sīhala Order, which had supported him in his overthrowing his father.[107] The fact is, however, that all the Buddhist Councils starting at least from the Third, summoned by Aśoka, are historically problematic.[108] Not only are the historical records of such councils dubious at best, but also the idea of purging seventeen heretical schools (as was supposedly accomplished during the Third Buddhist Council) seems ingenuous. Rhetorically, however, the idea of hosting a Buddhist Council is a powerful tool, as is the building of Mahābodhi replicas.

Lü Thai's and Tilokarāja's acts, which altered the landscapes of their communities and invested them with symbolic capital, as well as investing the landscape with their symbolic capital, are usefully compared by Anne Blackburn. She states that the efforts of these kings

> assumed several simultaneous functions of space and site that present-day scholars of Buddhism might be inclined to distinguish (given our own taxonomies), namely: (1) the samsaric protection offered by landscape alteration as merit-making; (2) the immediate potent (or "magical") protection provided by marking and enhancing certain sites; (3) the demonstration of power and authority through massive visual signs of patronage and the reorientation of spaces for ritual practice; (4) the alteration of the hierarchy of monastic lineage controlled by a king through the enhancement of sites related to one

[107] Swearer and Premchit show that the Sīhala Nikāya favored Tilokarāja to the point that "the Sīhala Nikāya becomes co-extensive with Tilokarāja's hegemony over northern Thailand" (Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 29).

[108] For the questionable occurrence of the Third Council, cf. David L. Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and Their Tibetan Successors*, (Boston: Shambhala, 2002), 46-7; for that of the Eighth Council, see Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 30.

line and the diminution or neglect of those related to another; (5) the "citation" of claims to participate in the unfolding of a specific local history of the *sāsana.*[109]

While all five of these functions are in operation in both the Sukhothai of Lü Thai and the Chiang Mai of Tilokarāja, they can be dramatically disproportionate depending on the sites one chooses. This is particularly the case with sites associated with Tilokarāja. It is curious that Blackburn highlights the Mahābhodārāma as a comparison with the footprint replicas of King Lü Thai. From her discussion of the relevant sites, it seems Wat Jedī Luang would have provided a much better subject of comparison, as both this Wat and the *buddhapāda* have strong associations with Sri Lanka, whether in terms of containing relics coming from Sri Lanka, or replicating items from Sri Lanka.[110]

What links the Lü Thai footprints and the Tilokarāja Mahābodhārāma is the fact that both are replicas. However, they are very different kinds of replicas, and make different claims to authority and prestige. First, it is very important to distinguish between the footprints of the Buddha, whose number, by their very nature, is uncertain. The Buddha could have gone anywhere and marked those sites with his footprints. Sites bearing his footprints commemorates this act. To install a set of Sri Lankan footprints in Sukhothai doesn't mean the Buddha never visited Sukhothai, it just means his marks were not found, and replicating Sri Lankan footprints means there was a desire for an accurate copy of the Buddha's foot. In

[109] Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 194.

[110] For instance, in the *Jinakālamālī*, the Emerald Buddha travels through India and Sri Lanka before ending up in Tilokarāja's possession (Jayawickrama, *The Sheaf of Garlands of the Epochs of the Conqueror*, 139-145).

the same way, the number of relics is indefinite. It is because of the *Mahāvamsa* that Sri Lanka is thought to be home of a disproportionate number or authentic relics, the ultimate provenance of which are Aśokan stūpas. Thus, when the Emerald Buddha is said to come from Sri Lanka, one is still ultimately looking toward India. Like the pure Tripiṭaka (associated in the *Jinakālamālī* with the peregrinations of the Emerald Buddha), one must go to Sri Lanka to find the authentic relics.

To replicate the Mahābodhi vihāra is another act entirely. The Mahābodhi vihāra does not signify anything per se. It is, rather, a monument to commemorate something that happened at that site, the Vajrāsana, the locus of the Buddha's (and all *buddhas*') enlightenment. The Vajrāsana itself cannot be replicated, firstly because it has no characteristics in a gross sense, it is simply a piece of earth to all but beings on the verge of enlightenment, who feel the need to travel there on the eve of their full buddhahood. As stated in the *Traibhūmikathā*, it is the only locus in the universe that is not destroyed at the end of an age, which is the second reason it cannot be duplicated. Unlike footprints and relics, there can be only one Vajrāsana. Therefore, even duplicating the external signs indexing the Vajrāsana, such as the bodhi tree, the Seven Weeks Sites, the Mahābodhi vihāra, etc., could not duplicate the Vajrāsana, for the Vajrāsana is, *ipso facto*, unique. As a relic, or signifier of the Buddha's presence, it is the bodhi tree which would carry much more prestige than the Mahābodhi vihāra, as the tree can be traced to the original bodhi tree which sheltered the Buddha (and all Buddhas) during his enlightenment.[111]

[111] The planting of seeds from Vajrāsana was often part of building in Pagán. See Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, 233.

Surely, then, this should void claims that a trip to the Chiang Mai Mahābhodārāma conveyed the same merit as a pilgrimage to the actual Vajrāsana. If one insists on considering replicas as copies of relics for the purpose of being a relic, then the most one could say would be that the entire Mahābodhārāma complex served to increase the power of the sapling of the bodhi tree that Tilokarāja moved from Dòi Suthep. No doubt, this is part of the power of the Chiang Mai complex, but it does not distinguish it from Wat Jedī Luang in function.

One can, however, discriminate between the replicas of most relics and the replicas of the Mahābodhi vihāra by analyzing the focus of authenticity. Both relics (and copies of relics) and the Mahābodhi replicas depend on a lineage for their authority. However, the claims of a relic depend on the relic itself. To a certain extent, it depends on not being a duplicate of another relic, which might make it inauthentic. As Griswold notes, the Sri Lankan *buddhapāda* would be considered a *paribhogacetiya*, a "cetiya by association," and the further removed *buddhapāda* replicas would be *uddesikacetiya*, "'indicative reminders,' i.e. an object which the general opinion regards as a suitable reminder of the Buddha, deriving its efficacy from the model it is copied from."[112] This category encompasses bodhi trees, and thence possibly Mahābodhi replicas.

However, we have no records as to the "general opinion" of these copies of copies. An *uddesikacetiya* is a memento or souvenir, and it may be best considered as possessing the same range of reception as souvenirs. Thus, small-scale replicas

[112] Griswold and Prasert, *Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, (Bangkok: Historical Society, 1992), 758.

of the Mahābodhi vihara are not in the same category as large-scale replicas discussed here. While they share the same gross character of being replicas, they differ in the degree of economic and symbolic capital needed to manufacture them. In addition, they belong to radically different realms of experience. Small-scale souvenirs can be fit into the palm of one's hand, while large-scale replicas can be walked through, change seasonally, and are the objects of state-sponsored rituals. This does not lessen the significance of small-scale replicas. Indeed, they may retain a higher level of spiritual capital than large-scale replicas. They may be the focus of more (or less) intense, personal worship. The point is that they can be usefully discussed as belonging to separate categories of objects.[113] Until more anthropological and ethnographic evidence becomes available as to what the "general opinion" of these different categories of replica were, the extent of their resonance remains unclear.

What we do know is that even the Buddha footprints in Sukhothai were often placed in a complex with "authentic" relics from Sri Lanka, and therefore could draw prestige from them, or from their locations, such as the tops of mountains. The Emerald Buddha draws its palladial power from its personal history as outlined in the *Jinakālamālī*. It was made from a magical substance in Aśoka's capital Pāṭaliputra by potent members of the saṅgha, spending time in spiritually

[113] Discussed together, they may point to the Mahābodhi temple's general importance for Buddhists. Cf. Susan L. Huntington and John C Huntington, *Leaves From the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India (8th - 12th Centuries) and Its International Legacy*, (Dayton, Ohio: Dayton Art Institute in association with the University of Washington Press, 1990), 85. To discuss these replicas any more specifically, it is more useful to think of them in separate categories.

powerful sites.[114] This indicates that in order to promote a favorable general opinion, such mementos of the Buddha required more prestige than functioning as mementos. All relics depend on the power and authenticity of their creator, whether a Buddha or other being, and each level of removal from this origin degrades their prestige.[115] Small mementos such as engraved seals and small-scale carvings may be acceptable with the amount of prestige they would carry, but for large scale construction projects sponsored by kings, their source of prestige lies elsewhere.

The Mahābodhi replicas do not depend on their own authenticity. They depend on being copies. It is their *creator* who must be authentic to lend prestige to the fabrication. If a king, like Tilokarāja, is an authentic *cakravartin,* then he will do what *cakravartins* do. As Blackburn notes, "The manner in which Tilokarāja developed Wat Bodhārāma, and his activities there, suggest that he conceived of the potent landscape alterations at that site primarily through an understanding of the

[114] The instigator of the Emerald Buddha was the Thera Nāgasena, King Mahinda's spiritual counselor. Nāgasena originally wanted to make this image from a *cakravartin*'s jewel, one of the *cakravartin*'s seven treasures. As the guardians of the *cakravartin* jewels were not willing to part with this jewel, Indra gave Nāgasena an emerald, similar in essence to the *cakravartin*'s jewel, cf. Frank Reynolds "The Holy Emerald Jewel: Some Aspects of Buddhist Symbolism and Political Legitimation in Thailand and Laos," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, ed. Bardwell Smith, (Chambersberg, PA: Anima Books, 1978), 175-93. The multiple levels of *cakravartin* symbolism should be quite clear here, as well as the ties to Aśoka and the Sri Lankan relics via Mahinda.

[115] See Schopen's discussion of the importance of proximity to the Buddha's relics in G. Schopen, "Burial *Ad Sanctos* and the Physical Presence of the Buddha," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks: Collected Papers on the Archaeology, Epigraphy, and Texts of Monastic Buddhism in India*, (University of Hawai'i Press: Honolulu), 114-147.

activities proper to a *cakkavattin* king."[116] Yet there is only one king who could have set such an example for Tilokarāja, and that is Aśoka. Tilokarāja's reign merged his understandings of *buddha* and *cakravartin*, as did the Mahābodhārāma. Just as every *buddha* must engage in the twelve acts of a *buddha*, and must go to the Vajrāsana for enlightenment, so it seems that every *cakravartin* must perform his own paradigmatic acts. We only know the twelve acts of a *buddha* through the historical Buddha, so it should come as no surprise that the acts of a *cakravartin* are based on the only known historical figure generally accepted as a *cakravartin*, Aśoka.

Further, one would not say that one *buddha* goes to Vajrāsana for enlightenment in imitation of another *buddha*, or similarly with any other exemplary act of a *buddha*. In the same way, when Tilokarāja builds the Mahābodhārāma, he is not necessarily copying Aśoka. Rather, he is reenacting the construction project every *cakravartin* must engage in. It is a lineage requirement, an authentic reenactment, not an imitation. This, of course, gives Tilokarāja a great latitude for stylistic interpretation. He does not have to make a detailed copy of the Mahābodhi Vihāra; he recreates it.

In this way, recreating the Mahābodhi complex does more than situating relics. It makes a statement about the king's authenticity and lineage, and depends heavily on his authority to be authentic. Any layperson, monk or any king could acquire relics, but only a *cakravartin* king could recreate the Mahābodhi site with

[116] Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 217.

any degree of legitimacy.[117] Also, while relics draw their authority from the Buddha and the lineage from the Buddha to the relic's contemporary holder, the Mahābodhi site draws its authority from the *cakravartin* king. After the death of the king, it is unclear if the site loses claims to power, or if these claims have more to do with memory than presence (as in the case if the Buddha's presence in the form of relics).

In the "Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta," after the *cakravartin* of the Golden Age completes his peaceful conquest of the four directions, "his wheel leads him back to his capital at the center of the world."[118] In this case, it is the *cakravartin* who determines the center of the world. In Aśoka's case, his capital of Pāṭaliputra roughly coincided with another center of the world, the *vajrāsana*, and so in a sense brought these two traditions together. For a king wishing to reenact the role of a *cakravartin*, his capital needed to be marked by a Mahābodhi temple.

The actions of these kings were more than reflections of a "rhetoric of legitimacy," for example seeing Tilokarāja as a jaded ruler duping his subjects into seeing him as a *cakravartin*. In Bardwell Smith's introduction to the volume *Religion and Legitimation*, he states that the theme focused on "how political leaders or a politicized group within a specific religious tradition and its membership...made use

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[117] For this reason, full scale replicas of Mahābodhi discussed here should be seen as quite a different order of building than small-scale replicas, impressions, etc.

[118] Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 46. On the wheel as symbolic of the *cakravartin*, see also S. Teiser, *Reinventing the Wheel: Paintings of Rebirth in Medieval Buddhist Temples*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006), 34. Teiser suggests that the wheel was associated with Aśoka, and then *cakravartins*, prior to its associations with the Buddhist teachings.

of 'religious' beliefs, practices and institutions to provide cohesiveness to the realm and legitimacy to the holding of power."[119] Aśoka is highlighted as one of Smith's paradigmatic examples of this endeavor. While Aśoka no doubt used Buddhism in part to legitimize his reign, it would be wrong to think that his adherence to Buddhism would lend cohesiveness to his Indian kingdom. It may be for this reason, among others, that Aśoka is not explicit about particularly favoring Buddhism in any of his inscriptions. Contrariwise, it would also be a mistake to rule out the possibility that kings who adopted the *cakravartin* ideology and recreated the acts of Aśoka in their own idiom were attempting to benefit both themselves and their kingdoms by providing "cohesiveness to the realm." As Dhida Saraya states, "Especially in the reign of [Tilokarāja], development towards social and political integration continued and culminated in the assertion of Chiangmai as a *krung* [royal capital city] competing with Ayutthaya."[120] With regard to Dhammaceti, Stadtner reflects, "If the community were unified, Dhammaceti reasoned, then spiritual recovery would ensue. His solution called for a massive reordination of monks based upon the rites of the esteemed Mahavihara school."[121] As we have seen, Tilokarāja also promoted reordination within his larger scheme of political cohesion. "Of all the monarchs of Lānnā Tilokarāja best exemplifies efforts

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[119] Bardwell Smith, "Introduction," in *Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma*, Religion and legitimation of power South and Southeast Asia studies, (Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books, 1978), vi.

[120] Dhida Saraya, "The Development of the Northern Tai States from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries," (PhD Diss., University of Sydney, 1982), 80, 104. Cited in Blackburn, "Buddhist Histories from Landscape and Architecture," 215.

[121] Stadtner, "King Dhammaceti's Pegu," 53.

to build a single moral community unified on the sociological level by a common religious institution, and symbolically by his own person as a *cakkavattin*."[122] Political legitimacy represents a subsidiary, though important, factor contributing to this cohesiveness.

The acts of the kings discussed in this chapter provided this cohesion, in space and time. Temporally, there is a line of kings to which rulers like Dhammaceti and Tilokarāja can point who engaged in the same acts as he. They are not just reaching out to the legend of Aśoka, but to Kyanzittha and Natonmya[123] who themselves reflect, and reflect on, the Aśokan legacy of constructing the Mahābodhi temple, and therefore make Tilokarāja's or Dhammaceti's acts more immediately relevant. Of course, they also join in the larger tradition, including king Lü Thai and the northern Thai king Āditarāja, of relic installation and monument-building, connecting them with Aśoka and the *cakravartin* legacy. It must be remembered that Aśoka was not the quintessential *cakravartin*; he was the most relevant paradigm for later kings. He therefore represents the *cakravartin* ideal, while not really being that ideal.

At the same time as they forge a *cakravartin* lineage with other ambitious kings, emphasizing the *cakravartin* ideal potentially distanced them from their

[122] Swearer and Premchit, "The Relation Between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand," 31.

[123] If this was, in fact, the king under whose direction the Pagán replica was built.

familial predecessors. In the *Traibhūmikathā*, composed by Lütai (aka Phya Lithai) while still heir apparent in 1345,[124]

> [T]he lesson is forcefully taught that the charisma of the *cakkavatti* is a personal and therefore noninheritable achievement, a lesson that is in line, on the one had, with Buddhist concepts of *kamma* and intentional action and, on the other, with the reality that Southeast Asian polities were unstable, pulsating entities, repeatedly consolidated by vigorous rulers.[125]

As Tambiah notes, this is true for the *Traibhūmikathā*'s depiction of the Mahāsudassana sūtra, but may also be the case for its other two depictions of monarchs, Aśoka (described as a "lesser *cakravartin*") and Bimbisara. Neither of these kings had heirs who lived up to their father's legacy. This is especially the case with king Bimbisara, whose son, Ajātasattu, is a parricide[126]. In contrast, Bimbisara exemplifies the ideal relationship between overlord (Bimbisara) and subject (the merchant Jotika, who himself has *cakravartin*-like qualities).

Both kings Lü Thai and Tilokarāja had reasons to distance themselves from the legacies of their fathers, while at the same time not cutting themselves off from their line as a whole. Lü Thai's father had lost considerable amounts of the Sukhothai kingdom, and we see especially in the Nagara Jum inscription that Lü Thai makes a strong connection between his reign and that of his grandfather King Ram Khamhäng (r. ? – 1292?), while omitting reference to his father Lö Thai.

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[124] S. Tambiah, "The Buddhist Cosmos: Paradise Lost, Gained and Transcended," *History of Religion* 24, 1 (1984): 73.

[125] *idem*, 77.

[126] This is not the whole tale of Ajātasattu (Ajātaśatru), however. In the *Aśokāvadana*, he prophesies the coming of Aśoka, bequeaths to him a magnificent jewel, and as the convener of the First Buddhist Council is somewhat of a model for Aśoka. Cf. Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, 71, 299-300.

Tilokarāja may also have been wary of aligning himself too closely with his father, who suppressed Buddhism in favor of the worship of spirit cults. However, his family lineage also gave Tilokarāja the authority he needed to compete with other claimants to the throne, and formed the essential foundation for his *cakravartin* aspirations.

The fact that kings based themselves on the "lesser *cakravartin*" Aśoka of the *Mahāvamsa*, and not one of the *cakravartin* ideal-types, such as illustrated in the *Mahāsudassana sūtra*, is revealing, pertinent to a question posed by Tambiah:

> It is tempting to assume the position of tough-minded realism and dismiss the [*cakravartin*] ideology as simply a veneer, a rationalization, a mere instrument of exploitation and domination, and therefore an epiphenomenon. It cannot have been a model for and model of political conduct.
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> This position smacks of both "ethical absolutism" and "vulgar reductionism." Ethical absolutism in so far as it is held that the ideology is so idealistic and utopian that it is a fantasy that cannot inform social action because it can never be realized or approximated. Vulgar reductionism in so far as it is held that it was a grand lie and a mystification used by the rulers to domesticate and decimate the masses.[127]

Indeed, were the *cakravartin* ideal too idealistic and utopian to be a real model, then one would be hard pressed to explain why the "lesser *cakravartin*," Aśoka, became the exemplar for historical kings. Only Aśoka allows kings to both serve their religious and political commitments by prescribing generosity to the *saṅgha* as well as allowing violent expansion. On the other hand, if there was no religious dimension to claiming the title of *cakravartin*, why would Tilokarāja have

[127] Tambiah, *The Buddhist Conception of Universal King and its Manifestations in South and Southeast Asia*, 35.

been cremated, and his ashes interred,[128] on the ground of a mere propaganda exercise, namely the Mahābhodārāma?

This seems unlikely. It may be more useful to think of the actions of these kings as an enactment of *cakravartin* kingship, to take seriously the statement by Geertz that the act of creating an "exemplary center" such as the *cakravartin*, "created not just a center of power – that had existed before – but a standard of civilization."[129] When Dhammaceti or Tilokarāja build a Mahābodhi replica, they were not only looking to the past, a desperate gesture toward a mythic exemplar of civilization. Rather, it is a summation and recollection of the past as instantiated in the present king. The monument becomes a *pointe de capiton* linking the different kings, as well as an idealization of their kingdoms and histories. To think that they are somehow stuck in the past would be a mistake, as each king in fact depends on the Mahābodhi temple (or indeed the *saṅgha*) falling into ruin, providing him with the chance to rebuild it. There is an acknowledgement of time and change, and yet a perduring engagement with the world that characterizes a *cakravartin*. Building monuments like the Mahābodhi replicas may in some way influence the kingdom to become like the kingdom of a *cakravartin*.[130]

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[128] "In 1487, Phayā Yòt Chiang Rāi transports the corpse of his grandfather Phayā Tilōk in a golden coffin (suvaṇṇadona) to Wat Jet Yòt and cremates it there. On the spot where the body was cremated, he builds a big stūpa (mahāthūpa) in which he places the ashes of Phayā Tilōk" (Penth, *Jinakālamālī Index*, 218).

[129] C. Geertz. *Negara*, 15.

[130] As Geertz (*ibid.*) states: "By the mere act of providing a model, a paragon, a faultless image of civilized existence, the court shapes the world around it into at least a rough approximation of its own excellence." I would caution the use of "faultless" here, especially given that a model king like Aśoka was not the perfect,

golden *cakravartin,* but the low-rank, iron *cakravartin.* In some Buddhist cosmologies, even having a faultless king represents a degeneration from the ideal state. Therefore, we should be careful to note that while the exemplary center is indeed exemplary, a model, an ideal, and transcendant to a certain degree, none of these qualifications should imply perfection. The question should then be asked, what to do with the golden *cakravartin,* or the blissful state that sometimes exists before the need for kings at all? These may be ideal or transcendant conditions, but they do not appear to be exemplary. That is, they are too ideal to be models, and seem to be good examples of a religious structure described by J.Z. Smith as "so refined, so otiose, so transcendent, that they would run the risk of being irrelevant." Cf. J.Z. Smith, "The Wobbling Pivot," in *Map is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 97. To use Smith's analogy, Aśoka's exemplary legacy lies in harnessing both the black horse (chaos) and the white horse (order), both of which should be seen as terms of religious power, not polarized into the dichotomy "sacred/profane." As we will see in the next chapter Qubilai and 'Phags pa create the religious underpinnings of a new empire by utilizing both the order implied in the cult of Sitātapatrā as well as the dynamic chaos implied in the cults of Hevajra and Mahākāla.

Chapter Two

Mahābodhi in Beijing: The Exemplary Center in China

As we saw in the last chapter, the *cakravartin* ideal typified by Aśoka loomed large in the minds of Southeast Asian kings building Mahābodhi replicas in the fifteenth century, perhaps larger than the purely spiritual implications of the Vajrāsana. The construction of these monuments represented part of an effort to create an "exemplary center" of civilization, a center typified by the actions of the best-known *cakravartin*, Aśoka at the center of the Buddhist world, Vajrāsana.

This chapter examines the last major fifteenth century Mahābodhi replica, found in Beijing. This temple has similar *cakravartin* connotations for the Chinese emperors as it did for the kings of Southeast Asia. However, this is not the result of the Chinese emperors adopting a religious technology from Southeast Asia. Rather, this is an instance where one particular signification has come to the fore in many traditions.[1] This is not meant to suggest that China was in communication with Southeast Asia about the implications of royal patronage of monuments, nor to suggest that there is a universal symbolism inherent to the Mahābodhi temple that links it with Aśoka in the minds of all. Rather, this chapter focuses on the evolution of a particular aspect of the

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[1] Another might be the king as *bodhisattva/buddha*, which may not have been so common in India, but certainly gained currency in at least Tibet, China, Burma and Thailand.

cakravartin concept in China, which eventually resulted in the construction of Beijing's fifteenth century Mahābodhi replica. This aspect has to do with the site on which this replica was constructed, and the historical "citation" which it was intended to convey. This chapter then looks to the role of Śāriputra in the construction of this replica, and the historical "citations" which he represented. As will be shown, while the phenomenon of Mahābodhi replicas spanned an enormous geographical region in the fifteenth century, and referenced Aśokan kingship, the particular religious significance of the Chinese replica differed profoundly from its Southeast Asian counterparts, and the role Śāriputra occupied for the Chinese emperors could never have been duplicated in Southeast Asia.

As we will see, the Mahābodhi replica built in the Ming dynasty is an outcome of a long evolution in the understanding of *cakravartin* kingship in China. Like the Mahābodhi replicas in Southeast Asia, these monuments play an important role in both legitimizing the emperor *qua cakravartin*, as well as being a sign of his legitimacy. In addition, these monuments are part of an effort to provide a model of civilized existence, the *cakravartin* court. This is not, however, simply of question of gesturing towards Aśoka. The Ming emperors summarize and build upon other "exemplary centers" in Chinese history, past dynasties in which the legacy of Aśoka was influential, especially that of the previous Yuan Dynasty, the Mongol Empire.

The Yuan created an exemplary center through the innovative use of the *mchod yon* relationship.[2] This required not just a king to play the role of *cakravartin*, but a

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[2] This refers to the paradigmatic relationship and coordination between spiritual and temporal orders in the form of "a lay ruler-donor (*yon bdag*) and and his religious counselor-donnee and preceptor-officiant (*mchod gnas*, Skt. *dakṣiṇīya*)." See D. Seyfort

religious hierarch to play the role of *buddha*. It is this latter role that Śāriputra comes to embody, a particular role that was not available in the courts or Chiang Mai, Pegu or Pagán. As will be seen below, the evolution of the *cakravartin* legacy in Beijing was very different from that of Southeast Asia, based on their unique historical circumstances. While both areas exemplified an understanding of a relationship between *cakravartin* and the Mahābodhi *stūpa*, that relationship was differently conceptualized by the time the various fifteenth century replicas were built.

The two general geographical locations differed greatly in the Buddhism popularized in each setting, especially within courtly circles. Though "Theravādin-" informed countries had high-ranking and powerful monks, none could boast the extraordinary supernatural powers some Vajrayāna clerics claimed not only to possess, but to have the ability to bestow. The kings of Pagan and Thai may have tried to merge within their persona the characteristics of a *buddha* and a *cakravartin*. Vajrayāna hierarchs from Tibet could actually claim to *be* a *buddha*, and so have the power to legitimize the reigning king as a *cakravartin*. As we shall see, the idiom of tantra provided a wealth of legitimizing devices for kings wishing to represent themselves as *cakravartins*, particularly through the ritual of *abhiṣeka*.

Ruegg, *Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*: On the Historiography and Semantics of a Tibetan Religio-Social and Religio-Political Concept," in *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. Ernst Steinkeller, (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 1991), 329-351; D. Seyfort Ruegg, *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporal dans la pensée bouddhique de l'Inde et du Tibet*, (Paris: Publications de l'Institute de Civilisation Indienne, 1995); D. Seyfort Ruegg, "The Preceptor-donor (*mchod yon*) Relation in Thirteenth Century Tibetan Society and Polity, Its Inner-Asian Precursors and Indian Models," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz, 1995*, ed. H. Krasser et al., (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 857-72.

Śāriputra's role, and the role of the traces he leaves behind in Beijing, seems to focus many of these seemingly conflicting issues of historical political and religious legitimacy, performance, and exemplary centers. He may seem like a substitute for the famous Tibetan ecclesiastics who refused to take up permanent residence at Yongle's court, such as the thaumaturge Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa (1384-1415), or refused to come to court at all, such as the scholarly Tsong kha pa (1357-1419). Any of these might have been given the symbolically rich residence that Śāriputra was eventually given.[3] However, none of them could have been responsible for the monument built there. This monument, the Mahābodhi replica, brings together Yongle's efforts to reinvent the Yuan dynasty, as well as to hearken back to non-Mongolian traditions. It reformulates the *cakravartin* ideal in a distinctly tantric idiom. This structure could only have been built in Beijing (indeed, it was built three more times in the same city during the Qing), and perhaps only in this city could Śāriputra have gained the prominence he did.

VAJRĀSANA STŪPAS

[3] It may be noted that while Tsong kha pa did not go to the Yongle's court, he did send a disciple, the well-known founder of Se ra monastery Byams chen chos rje (1354-1435), he was thought (at least by the later Dharmatāla) to be a reincarnation of 'Phags pa. The implications of this will become apparent (see below). Cf. Dam chos rgya mtsho Dharma tā la, *Chen po Hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa Padma dkar po'i 'phreng ba*, ed. Lokesh Chandra, (Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1975 [1889]), 238. Translated into English as Damcho Gyatsho Dharmatāla, Rosary of White Lotuses: Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country, trans. Piotr Klafkowski, (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1987), 211-2.

China has at least five stūpas of the "Vajrāsana" type,[4] as classified in Chinese sources. These five display remarkable internal variances, sharing only the architectural feature of having a single podium on top of which five towers (sometimes considered *stūpas* in their own right) have been built. This accounts for their common moniker Wuta si 五塔寺, "five-stūpa temple." All known sources agree that the prototype for the Jingang baozuo type is undoubtedly Jingang baozuo ta 金剛寶座塔 ("vajrāsana stūpa"), located in the northwest of present day Beijing's Haidan district, within the temple grounds of the temple Zhenjue si 真覺寺. Thus far, this temple has been examined in only the most cursory fashion by Western historians,[5] and little more has been written in Chinese or Tibetan sources. This may largely stem from the fact that the Chinese records tell us relatively little about the life of this *stūpa*, other than that its design is based on the Mahābodhi temple, and that the plans for it were brought to Beijing by an Indian monk. As we shall see, this Indian monk was Śāriputra. Curiously, while Śāriputra died in 1424, the temple he designed was not finished until the ninth year of the Chenghua emperor's reign (1473). Thus, the motivations for its construction are murky, a subject about which the Ming period records from China, Tibet, and Mongolia are utterly, if not conspicuously, silent.

However, the reasons for building the Mahābodhi replicas in Pegu, Pagán, and Chiang Mai are never explicitly stated, either. By applying the same methodology to

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[4] This architectural form is known as *jingang baozuo* 金剛寶座 [*vajrāsana*].

[5] See mentions in S. Naquin. *Peking: Temples and City Life, 1400-1900.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); R.L. Thorp. "Exploring the Buddhist Temples of Beijing." *Orientations* 39, 5 (2008): 44; P. Swart and B. Till, "The Diamond Seat Pagoda," *Orientations* 16, 2 (1985): 28-39.

the Chinese replicas, the reasons for building the Jingang baozuo stūpas become clear. While it might be interesting to speculate about the contact between the Ming court of the Yongle emperor and the court of Tilokarāja, who built these stūpas as approximately the same time, especially given the Yongle emperor's missions to South Asia, proving such links is not of primary importance here. Further, some of the extant sources for the building of Beijing and the construction of the Vajrāsana temple are more legendary. The question is whether Kyanzittha, Tilokarāja and Yongle may have been similarly motivated to built replicas of the Mahābodhi temple, and what this indicates about the importance of Śāriputra to the Ming court.

THE SITE OF *JINGANG BAOZUO TA*

The history of this temple is hard to reconstruct. The reason for this is that most secondary literature is essentially based on the same source, the *Dijing jingwu lu* 帝京景物略, which does elaborate on the subject. It states:

> Zhenjue si
>
> At the time of Emperor Chengzu wen, the Western Paṇḍita came [and] bestowed[6] [on the emperor] five golden Buddha images [and] the design plans of *vajrāsana*. Imperial decree conferred [upon him the title] Preceptor of the Great State (*Daguo Shi*). He was given a golden seal [and the right to] establish a temple [and] live there. The temple was given the name "Great Awakening [Mahābodhi].[7]" In the ninth year of Chenghua [1473], an imperial decree conferred a temple following (*zhun*) the Central Indian style.[8] A throne (*baozuo* = *āsana*[9]) was built, a piled-stone platform

[6] 貢. Some editions read 送 here, making the reading "...came *bearing* five golden Buddhas.

[7] 真覺 may be better translated as "Complete Awakening," though I believe it can be taken as synonymous with the Sanskrit *mahābodhi* as referring to the Awakening of a *buddha*, which is the point I emphasize here. As will be seen below, Qianlong further underscored this meaning when he gave this temple the additional name Dazhenjue Si 大正覺寺.

[8] *Zhong Yindu shi* 中印度式.

[measuring] five *zhang* (16.5 meters), a level was hidden in the wall[10], left and right the spiral staircase[11] revolves upwards. The top level functions as a terrace. There is an arrangement of five towers, each [measuring] two *zhang* (3.6 meters), [each] tower engraved [with] Indic images, Indic letters, Indic jewels, [and] Indic flowers.[12] The middle tower is engraved [with] two footprints.[13] These footprints are broad and sunken, like an ear. They swell upwards, the lines/patterns spiraling as if supporting or crouching upon one another. The feet flow from the luxurious toes, and step on a blooming lotus. The flame of dharma rises up, the full moon rises, and the *dharmadhātu*[14] hides itself. This is not a sleight. According to the *Record of Western Regions*[15]: Five stūpas have causes [and] conditions: [in] Kuśinagara[16], namely the land of Central India, [near] Śālavana temple,

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[9] The problems with this translation will be discussed below. Note here that *zuo* 座 is sufficient to translate *āsana*. *Baozuo* 寶座 could perhaps translate Skt. *hemāsana* (Tib. *gser khri* [TTC 227], but is nonetheless quite obviously a throne [HYDCD 3: 1648a]).

[10] This probably indicates the spiral staircase leading to the viewing platform embedded in the wall.

[11] *Wo* 蝸 seems to indicate the spiral staircase, just as its English equivalent "cochlea" denotes both the spiraling snail-shell and a spiral staircase.

[12] 梵像，梵字，梵寶，梵華. Although *fan* 梵 usually designates "Sanskrit," the author may be referring to the Indian culture or milieu which was characterized by the Sanskrit language. For Śāriputra described as an "Indian monk" (*fanseng* 梵僧), see n. 236 below.

[13] *Buddhapāda*.

[14] 法界 (HYDCD 5: 1040b).

[15] The author probably means to refer to Xuanzang's *Great Tang Record of Western Regions* (*Datang xiyuji* 大唐西域記). While the cited passage is a paraphrase of Xuanzang's account, it corresponds more closely to a passage from the *Regional Spread of Buddhism* (*Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志; T2088) of Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667), which relied heavily on Xuanzang's account (T2088.51 960a13-960a19): 滅證處。次有一塔是執金剛神躄地處。次側一塔是停棺七日處次側一塔是阿泥樓陀 上天。告母降來哭佛處城北度尼連禪那 河。三百步塔者。是佛涅疊般那地今黃黑土雜灰炭。有祈感者咸獲舍利。次側一塔佛爲大迦葉波現雙足處。次又一塔 前立石柱。刻記八國分舍利事。

[16] *Jushinajieluoguo* 拘屍那揭羅國, i.e. the capital of Magadha in Central India.

there is a stūpa. It is "the place where Vajrapāṇi fell into a swoon."[17] There is a stūpa beside it, the place where the [Buddha's] coffin was lodged for seven days.[18] The next stūpa over is the place where Aniruddha ascended heaven to address [the Buddha's] mother, [and his] mother descended [and] wept for the Buddha.[19] The next stūpa is the Buddha's *parinirvāṇa*[20] site. The next stūpa is the site where the Buddha, for the sake of Mahākāśyapa, manifested both feet. Also, according to the *Mahāsāṃgikavinaya*[21], [there are] another five stūpas: What is called a *stūpa* [are] those with *śarīra*; a *caitya* is that which lacks *śarīra*. Ordinary people raise a stūpa at the place a Buddha was born, where he obtained the *dharma*, where he turned the wheel of *dharma*, and [where] the Buddha [passed into] nirvāṇa. Images of bodhisattvas, pratyeka[*buddha*] images, Buddha images, *buddhapāda* sites. Obtaining peace, an imperial canopy[22] is offered. Superior people make offerings to Buddha-*stūpas*, inferior people make offerings to *caityas*. [23]

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[17] 金剛神躄地處。Daoxuan (*supra*) describes this stūpa identically, but Xuanzang (T2087.51 904a10) renders this place as 執金剛躄地之處. Here, I am following the translation by Li Rongxi in Xuanzang, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 188.

[18] 停棺七日處. Xuanzang (T2087.51 904a25-29) describes in detail the episode of halting the Buddha's coffin on its way to the burning ghats so that the heavenly beings could venerate it.

[19] This episode is related in Xuanzang (T2087.51 904a29-b10).

[20] *Niepan banna*. Note: *Parinirvāṇa* is usually 大般涅槃.

[21] The following passage refers to the *Mahāsāṃgikavinaya* 摩訶僧祇律 T1425.22 0498b20-c1: 有舍利者名塔。無舍利者名枝提。如佛生處得道處轉法輪處般泥洹處菩薩像辟支佛窟佛脚跡。此諸枝提得安佛華蓋供養具。若有言 佛貪欲瞋恚愚癡已斷用是精舍供養爲。得 越比尼罪。是名塔枝提供養具者。佛住舍衛城。乃至諸比丘白佛言。 世尊。得持塔供養具供養枝提不。佛言得。 若佛生日得道日轉法輪日五年大會日。當此時得持供養中上者供養佛塔。下者供養枝提。

[22] Ch. *huagai* = Tib. *gdugs* [TTC 1345].

[23] 真覺寺: 成祖文皇帝時。西番板的達。來貢金佛五軀。金剛寶座規式。詔封大國師。賜金印。建寺居之。寺賜名真覺。成化九年。詔寺準中印度式。建寶座。纍石臺五丈。藏級於壁左右蝸旋而上。頂平為臺。列塔五。各二丈。塔刻梵像。梵字。梵寶。梵華。中塔。刻兩足跡。他跡。陷下廓摹耳。此隆起。紋螺若相抵蹲。是繇趾著跡湧。步著蓮生。燈燈焰就。月滿露昇。法界藏身，斯不誣焉。按西域記: 五塔因緣，拘屍那揭羅國，即中印土。娑羅林精捨，有塔，是金剛神躄地處。次側一

As stated above, Beijing's Jingang Baozuo *stūpa* is located on the grounds of Zhenjue temple, located in the capital's northwest corner. This section of Beijing was once known as Dahu Guorenwang si 大護國人王寺, which Qubilai Qaɣan (1215-1298, r. 1260-1298) built in 1270 for the Tibetan Sa skya hierarch 'Gro mgon 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235-1280).[24] 'Phags pa had enjoyed a long history with the Mongol rulers, having first come to the Mongol court (if it could be called a "court" at this time) in 1247 at the tender age of twelve as a member of the entourage of his uncle Sa skya Paṇḍita, who had been invited by Köden Qaɣan.[25]

An item of dubious authenticity, which later gained widespread currency in Tibet, held that in exchange for teachings (as a *gurudakṣiṇā*), Köden gave Sa skya Paṇḍita temporal authority over Tibet.[26] As Sa skya Paṇḍita had died by the time

塔，是停棺七日處。次側一塔，是阿泥樓陀上天告母，母降哭佛處。次一塔，是佛涅槃般那處。次側一塔，是佛為大迦葉波現雙足處。又按僧祇律，亦五塔因緣，云塔，有舍利者，支提，無舍利者。凡人起塔於佛生處，得道處，轉法輪處，佛泥洹處，菩薩像、辟支像、佛像、佛腳跡處，得安華蓋供養。上者供養佛塔，下者供養支提也。寺因緣者，寺因山水，緣賢聖熏修也。Liu Tong 劉侗, *Di Jing Jing Wu Lue* 帝京景物略, (Yangzhou: Guanling shu she, 2003 [1635]), 403.

[24] Ishihama Yumiko 石濱裕美子, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū* チベット仏教世界の歴史的研究, (Tokyo, 2001), 27 & 41.

[25] D.L. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968), 148.

[26] Two of important documents which served to establish the tone of the relationship between Köden and Sa skya Paṇḍita – the letter *Bu slob rnams la spring ba* and Köden's letter summoning Sa skya Paṇḍita to court – are probably forgeries. See D. Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche*, Abteilung III, Band I, *Monumenta Tibetica Historica*, (St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1977), 41; D. Jackson, "Sa-skya Paṇḍita's Letter to the Tibetans: A Late and Dubious Addition to His Collected Works," *Journal of the Tibet Society* 6 (1986): 17-23. The letter purportedly authored by Sa skya Paṇḍita is translated in Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 1: 10-12. Both

Qubilai took over the Chinese campaigns in 1253, Qubilai took Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew and designated heir, 'Phags pa.[27] After his (contested) election as Qaɣan in 1260, Qubilai named 'Phags pa as his state preceptor (*guoshi* 國師).[28] Qubilai vied with his brother Ariq Böke (d. 1266) for the khanate, which Qubilai secured in 1264 by imprisoning his brother. In 1265, 'Phags pa went back to Tibet, returning to the Mongol court in 1268. By this time, Qubilai had founded his own capital, Qanbaliq (aka Zhongdu 中都; Dadu 大都), later Beijing. The following year (1270), Qubilai elevated 'Phags pa to the position

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letters are found in the English translation of Shakabpa's *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, trans. Derek F. Maher, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 211, 213-16.

[27] Whether Qubilai initially viewed 'Phags pa as a hostage or teacher is a matter of debate. Sa skya Paṇḍita was originally summoned to Köden's court to surrender Tibet to the Mongols. This land was then returned as the *gurudakṣiṇa* mentioned above. Therefore, 'Phags pa's early presence in Beijing could be seen as a continuation of the proto-"priest-patron" relationship enjoyed between Sakya Paṇḍita and Köden, or as a symbol of Tibet's surrender. That is, 'Phags ba may have been a hostage, though perhaps not in the way that term in viewed today. Cf. D. Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben*; T. Wylie, "The First Mongol Conquest of Tibet Reinterpreted," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 37 (1977): 103-33. It may be worth comparing this relationship between Mongol overlord and Tibetan hierarchs to the "surrender and regrant" policy created by Anthony St. Leger and championed by Henry VIII as part of the Tudor reconquest of Ireland. For 'Phags pa arriving in the Mongol court in 1253, cf.: H. Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," in *China Under Mongol Rule*, ed. J.D. Langlois, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 305.

[28] See Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor (1704-1788), *Chos 'byung dpag bsam ljon bzang*, (Lanzhou: Kan su'u mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1992), 158; According to this text and the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*, 1253 was the year Qubilai invested 'Phags pa with authority over Tibet. According to the *Dep ther sngon po*, this investiture did not occur until 1260. See Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 652, 699 n. 515. See also *infra* n. 40.

of imperial preceptor (*dishi* 帝師).[29] In 1271, Qubilai founded the Yuan Dynasty and built Da Huguo Renwang si for 'Phags pa[30] and in 1272 made Qanbaliq the official capital.

After the death of 'Phags pa in 1280, a large Tibetan-style *stūpa* (called *qing'an ta* 慶安塔) was erected on the grounds of Da Huguo Renwang si, in which his body relics (*śarīra*) were interred.[31] By the end of the Yuan Dynasty, both the *stūpa* and its temple environs had become ruins.[32]

Zhenjue temple was built on these ruins. When the Indian monk Śāriputra (aka Bandida 板的達; Wuming Bandida 五明板的達; Shilisha 室利沙; sometimes Halima 哈裡麻 or Gelima 葛哩麻[33]) arrived in Beijing, he brought with him golden statues of the five Buddhas and design plans of the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi temple for the Ming Dynasty Emperor Yongle 永樂 (Zhudi 朱棣 1360-1424/5, r. 1402-1424/5).[34] Perhaps in response to this gift, or out of respect, the Yongle emperor then built the Zhenjue temple complex in which the eminent monk could reside. The emperor also elevated Śāriputra to the status of *Dashan guoshi* 大善國師. The building of the Jingang Baozuo

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[29] Qubilai was said to have political preeminence, and 'Phags pa spiritual preeminence. In addition, Qubilai gave 'Phags pa both temporal and spiritual authority over Tibet. Cf. Seyfort Ruegg, "*Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*," 448.

[30] Ishihama, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū*, 27.

[31] This stūpa was commissioned in 1282 (*Yuan shi* 12: 249).

[32] Indeed, current scholarship only surmises the *stūpa* was in the Tibetan style based on an analysis of its foundation.

[33] Note that while these last two are sometimes referred to by Chinese scholars as rendering Śāriputra, Helima 哈立麻 and Gelima 葛哩麻 are usually understood as phonetic renderings of Karma, and the Karma pa V, De bzhin gshegs pa, in particular.

[34] This will be discussed in detail below.

stūpa was completed only in 1473. The arch over the southern gate bears the inscription *Chijian Jingang Baozuo ta* 敕建金剛寶座塔, "the imperially decreed *vajrāsana stūpa*."

The five golden Buddha statues may have been interred in the five towers of this *stūpa*. The five towers are engraved with representations of the five Buddha families, one in east of the four cardinal directions and the center, which may plausibly identify the five Buddha statues brought by Śāriputra. The pedestal crowned with five towers, specifically representing the Buddha families has become the single defining feature of this type of *stūpa*.[35]

Qing Dynasty Emperor Qianlong (乾隆, 1711-1799, r. 1735-1796) was the next emperor to take an interest in this temple complex. During its initial refurbishment in 1751, he renamed it Zhengjue si 正覺寺 in 1751. In 1761, he again restored the temple (naming it Dazhengjue si 大正覺寺[36]), this time for the occasion of Empress Dowager

[35] It is unclear when this became the hallmark of the *jingang baozuo* style. It is doubtful that it a feature of the original Indian Mahābodhi temple. If Śāriputra intended for the five *stūpa*s comprising the Mahābodhi replica to represent the five Buddha families is a matter of speculation. Certainly, the *stūpa* in Wutai Shan which houses a portion of his relics, while featuring a *vajrāsana* style, is dedicated completely to Mañjuśrī, having his image engraved into each of the five towers. This *stūpa* will be discussed in detail in chapters six and seven. It would be interesting to speculate if the towers' association with the Buddha families goes towards explaining why the towers are so similar in size. With respect to the Beijing *stūpa*, the central tower rises only one meter higher than the surrounding four. The proportion difference of the Indian Mahābodhi temple and the Wutai Shan *stūpa* are much more extreme. However, given the fact that this temple was restored by Qianlong, I must leave it to art historians to determine the extent of renovations, and if they affected the *stūpa*. As I cannot say how much of the structure is distinctly Ming or Qing, I only discuss the architectural features corroborated in Ming records.

[36] Now very clearly meaning "*mahābodhi*." While this chapter will not address the Qing dynasty in any depth, it is interesting here to note that Wuta si represents a site of Qing

Xiaosheng's seventieth birthday. A stop at the newly promoted temple featured as part of the birthday procession.[37] Perhaps as a result of his affection for this temple's *stūpa*, when Qianlong ordered the renovation of Biyun si, he also had a *vajrāsana stūpa* built on its grounds. In 1780, he built the fourth of Beijing's four Jingang Baozuo *stūpas*, Qingjing Huacheng. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the Zhenjue temple was destroyed by fire or piracy, with only the Vajrāsana *stūpa* surviving.[38]

This summary history of the locus of the Vajrāsana *stūpa* in Beijing provides valuable insights regarding the possible motivations behind the construction projects which were undertaken in that space, beginning with the foundation of the city itself as the capital of the Qubilai's Mongol empire. It seems likely that Qubilai forged a relationship with 'Phags pa with the specific intention of keeping a continuity with the former relationship between Köden and Sa skya Paṇḍita, as part of an effort to stabilize his claim to the khanate. Köden and Sakya Paṇḍita seemed to be the first to enjoy the

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engagement with the otherwise criticized Ming dynasty, and through them the Yuan. For more on the Qing dynasty's attempts to recreate the Mongol imperium, see P. Berger, *Empire of Emptiness: Buddhist Art and Political Authority in Qing China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003); J.A. Millward, "The Qing Formation, the Mongol Legacy, and the 'End of History' in Early Modern Central Eurasia," in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. Lynne A. Struve, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 113; J. Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

[37] *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下舊聞考 [Ancient Accounts Heard in the Precincts of the Throne], (Beijing: Beijing Guji, 1983 [c. 1785]) 77: 1288-91. Also D. Wei, "Qing Imperial 'Genre Painting': Art as Pictorial Record," *Orientations* 26, 7 (1995): 18-24; cf. Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life*, 322.

[38] P. Swart, ("The Diamond Seat Pagoda," 38) names fire as the culprit. R.L. Thorp ("Exploring the Buddhist Temples of Beijing," 44) states, "Although the Zhengzuesi compound suffered during the suppression of the Boxer Uprising by the Eight Allied Armies in 1900, its halls remained intact until they were sold off by the Beiyang warlord government (1912-28) to a private individual in 1927."

so-called "priest-patron" relationship, though it was not formalized "religio-politically and terminologically" until the time of Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew and heir, 'Phags pa.[39] This *mchod yon* relationship sustained its prestige during later dynasties, becoming the model of (and for) the relationship between (*cakravartin*) king and (*buddha*) preceptor. Even after Qubilai had been elected to the khanate, he still vied with his brother, and being part of this "priest-patron" relationship with Sa skya Paṇḍita's designated heir may have represented one of his claims to being the true successor to Köden Qaɣan. In addition, by naming 'Phags pa state preceptor, Qubilai was also implying that he himself was the patron of the state. This relationship was strengthened when Qubilai founded an empire (the Yuan Dynasty). When promoting himself from Qaɣan to emperor, he made 'Phags pa imperial preceptor (*dishi* 帝師). In addition to this title, Qubilai then granted 'Phags pa the entirety of Tibet, just as Köden had offered them to Sa skya Paṇḍita.[40] As stated above, this represented Qubilai's *gurudakṣiṇā* for the

[39] Ruegg, "*Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*," 448.

[40] 'Phags pa received title of *guoshi* in 1260, and eventually was granted jurisdiction over Tibet (*Yuan shi* 4: 68; 202: 4518). Cf. D.M Farquhar, *The Government of China Under Mongolian Rule*, vol. 53, *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*, (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 30. In 1261, Qubilai placed him in charge of all Buddhist clergy (*Yuan shi*, 202: 4518). In 1264, he created the Congzhi yuan 總制院 to manage the Buddhist clergy in China as well as supervising the imperial relations with Tibet. First 'Phags pa, and then his successors to the title *dishi*, held this post (*Yuan shi* 8: 223; 87: 2193). 'Phags pa and Qubilai also strengthened their ties through marital alliances, with 'Phags pa's younger brother, nephew and grandnephew all marrying Mongol princesses. cf. Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," 309; Shōju Inaba, trans., "The Lineage of the Sa skya pa: A Chapter of the Red Annals," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 22 (1963): 109-10. In 1264/5, Qubilai tries to persuade Tibetans to accept the fact of Mongol rule, which runs counter to Shakabpa's statement that Tibet became completely free through Qubilai's donation to 'Phags pa (see note below).

conferral of the Hevajra *abhiṣeka* by 'Phags pa.[41] Even in the unlikely event that Qubilai was not looking to the model that Köden had formed, he viewed his relationship with 'Phags pa as part of empire-building.[42]

This link is strengthened by the fact of Qubilai's granting an estate to 'Phags pa in his, as yet unfinished, imperial capital. Qubilai may have thereby enfeoffed his religious teacher, or followed earlier Chinese dynasties, like the Tang or Song, which patronized religious sects with land grants. However, he may also have imitated other, more symbolically rich and specifically Buddhist, precedents.

As is well known, the Mongol hierarchs were familiar with the Indian political system through a Buddhist lens. The title *cakravartin*, laden with almost mythical religious and political significance, was given to Čingghis Qaɣan (c. 1162-1227, r. 1206-1227), and he presented himself as a Universal (if not necessarily Buddhist) Monarch.[43]

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[41] 'Jigs med rigs pa'i rdo rje, *Hor-chos-'byung, Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, ed. and tr. Georg Huth, (Strassburg: K. J. Trübner, 1892-96), 93. Cf. W.D. Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, legs bam gnyis pa, (Delhi: Bod gzhung shes rig dpar khang, 2002), 314: "Sog po'i grib ma tsam gyi 'og la yod kyang / chu glang spyi lo 1253 lor Kub la'i khāng gis 'Gro mgon chos rgyal 'Phags par chol kha gsum mnga' ris dang bcas pa phul ba nas bzung bod rang btsan gtsang mar thon te." (Although under the mere shadow of the Mongols, starting from [the time that] Qubilai Qaɣan offered the three parts of Tibet together with Mnga' ris to the Venerable Dharmarāja 'Phags pa in the water-ox year [1253], Tibet was completely free).

[42] While Qubilai unquestionably founded the Yuan Dynasty, he recorded his grandfather, Čingghis Qaɣan, as the founder. As Čingghis was the last uncontested "qaɣan," this act also speaks not only to Qubilai's desire to be seen as the heir to the absolute khanate, but further to his construction of a history which allowed for this possibility. His relationship to 'Phags pa was likely part of this process.

[43] Čingghis may have adopted the Chinese view of the Universal Monarch as Son of Heaven, which itself was influenced by the Indian *cakravartin* ideology. The overtly Buddhist connotations of this title would be brought into high relief by 'Phags pa (see below). Cf. H. Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yüan Dynasty," *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-*

As noted earlier, Qubilai named his grandfather Čingghis as the founder of the Yuan Dynasty, and therefore likely saw himself as Čingghis's true heir to the title of *cakravartin*, with its dual political and religious connotation.

Even though Čingghis may have been eulogized as a *cakravartin* in his own lifetime, whether he actively sought out or encouraged this as a particularly Buddhist title, or indeed viewed himself in any sense as a Buddhist, is unclear. Indeed, for the purpose of this discussion, whether he should have been seen as a *cakravartin* while alive does not matter. Much more salient is the fact that he was brought into a lineage of *cakravartins* by the inheritors of his political legacy, which included Qubilai and later Yongle.[44]

Historische Klasse 2 (1978): 17-19. This is not to state that the Buddhists were the only ones interested in coopting Čingghis Qaγan. In the late-Yuan work by Tao Zongyi, the *Chuojinglu*, Čhingghis is said to have gone so far as vegetarianism and bathing in order to serve the Daoist master Qiu Chuji. See S. Jagchid, "The Mongol Khans and Chinese Buddhism and Taoism," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 2, 1 (1979): 10-11.

[44] Later still, Qianlong quite clearly viewed himself in part as a reincarnation of Qubilai, and also heir to his *cakravartin* status. His preceptor, Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786), was viewed as the reincarnation of 'Phags pa. Cf. Ishihama Yumiko, "The Image of Ch'ien-Lung's Kingship as Seen From the World of Tibetan Buddhism," *Acta Asiatica* 88 (2005): 53; Chu bzang Ngag dbang thub bstan dbang phyug, *Rdo rje 'chang Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par that pa dad pa'i padma rnam par 'pyed pa nyi ma'i 'od zer*, (Peking, 1787), 53a5-53b2. Reproduced in Hans-Rainer Kämpfe, *Nyi ma'i 'Od zer: Die Biographie des 2. Pekinger lCang skya Qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786)*, Monumenta Tibetica Historica, II/I, (St. Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1976). The relevant passage: "De yang Snang mtha'i rnam 'phrul kun gzigs Paṇ chen rin po che Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes kyi zhal ldan nas stsal ba'i rje bla ma 'di pa [i.e. Lcang skya]'i 'khrungs rabs su 'Gro mgon 'Phags pa bzhugs shing / yang Go da ma bdag po chen po'i 'khrungs rabs su Hu be le se chin rgyal po bzhugs pas yon mchod gnyis sku tshe du ma'i sda rol nas chos dang dam tshig gi 'brel ba shin tu zab cing / smon lam gcig tu btab pa rang cag 'dzam bu gling pa rnams kyi bsod nams kyi dpal du smin par mngon." One can see here here the *mchod yon* relationship was still an integral part of the playing out of the "exemplary center." As the quote makes clear, this relationship was reenacted across lifetimes. See also K.-H. Everding, *Die Präexistenzen der Lcaṅ skya*

In his *Shes bya rab tu gsal ba* – which 'Phags pa wrote in order to introduce his sect to Qubilai Qaɣan's son, Zhenjin 真金 (1243-1285)[45] – he states, "Byang phyogs Hor gyi yul du sngon bsod nams bsags pa'i 'bras bu smin pa Jing gir rgyal po zhes bya ba byung la...yul khams du ma dbang du byas nas stobs kyis 'khor los sgyur ba lta bur gyur to."[46] (In the Northern land of Hor, arose the one called Emperor Čingghis, one for whom the fruit of formerly accumulated merit ripened...having subjugated many lands, [he] was like a *balacakravartin*). Whether 'Phags pa is taking an active role in inventing a tradition of Čingghis qua *cakravartin*, or is simply reflecting a current tradition is unclear. However, the great qaɣan did represent one standard by which later kings,

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Qutuqtus: Unterschungen zur Konstruktion und historischen Entwicklung einer lamaistischen Existenzenlinie, Band 104, *Asiatische Forschungen*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988), 2-29; V.L. Uspensky, "The Previous Incarnations of the Qianlong Emperor According to the Paṇchen Lama Blo Bzang Dpal Ldan Ye Shes," in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies I. Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000*, ed. Henk Blezer, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 221.

[45] Franke, "Tibetans in Yüan China," 307.

[46] 'Phags pa Blo gro rgyal mtshan, "Shes bya rab tu gsal ba," *Sa skya bka' 'bum dpe bdur ma las 'Gro mgon chos rgyal 'Phags pa'i gsung 'bum pod dang po*, v. 19, (Lhasa: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 37. Cf. Dieter Schuh's appraisal of this passage in Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche*, 58-69. K. Kollmar-Paulenz has pointed out that in 'Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje's *Hu lan deb ther* (composed between 2346 and 1363), Čingghis is also eoulogized as a *cakravartin*. See K. Kollmar-Paulenz, "Review: Johan Elverskog, *Our Great Qing: The Mongols, Buddhism and the State in Late Imperial China*," *Asiatische Studien* 62, 2 (2008): 609. Also in 1690, the Second Lcang skya Khutuktu (Rol pa'i rdo rje's predecessor) composed a prayer to Čingghis praising him as a *cakravartin*. As Patricia Berger points out, "Chingghis Khan, only doubtfully exposed to Buddhism and certainly never converted, was integrated forcibly into the Buddhist pantheon...through the agency of the Manchus," though we can see that this process began long before the Qing. Cf. P. Berger, *Mongolia: The Legend of Chingghis Khan*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 65. Note here that the use of *lta bu* "like" a *balacakravartin* may be a way to circumvent the *Abhidharmakośa*'s delimiting of the number of *cakravartin*s allowed per age. 'Phags pa would use this same device when visualizing Qubilai as a *cakravartin*. See below, 101.

Mongol and Chinese, would model themselves, and reinvent traditions for themselves to follow.[47] These new traditions' efficacy encouraged later emperors to follow and also to build upon them.

While 'Phags pa may not have invented the tradition of Čingghis as *cakravartin*, he certainly encouraged this notion, and actively promoted Qubilai as another *cakravartin*.[48] Indeed, 'Phags pa had considerable input into both the physical and religious/ritual design of Qanbaliq, including the erection of a golden wheel on the main gate to Qubilai's imperial palace grounds, the *Chongtianmen* 崇天門, indexing the golden-wheeled *cakravartin* within.[49] He also instituted the cult of Sitātapatrā

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[47] The Mongols made efforts to trace the roots of the *mchod yon* relationship to Čingghis, stating that he considered Sa chen Kun dga' snying po (1092-1158) as his guru, without having met him. Shakabpa (*Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, 267-8) discusses the problems in this argument, such Čingghis being born four years after Sa chen died. I use the term "reinvent" to express both the innovation introduced as well as the long tradition of manipulating notions such as *cakravartin* kingship. I also agree with Toni Huber's statement: "'reinvention' does not connote anything necessarily inauthentic in terms of some ultimate measure of genuineness, since one can critically historicize the content of all cultural production. Rather, I intend 'reinvention' as a way of provoking our interest in understanding what makes such ongoing claims plausible to those who receive them, and by whose authority and for whose gain they are produced." See Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 36-7. For "invented tradition," see E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); T. Otto and P. Pedersen, "Distangling Traditions: Culture, Agency and Power," in *Tradition and Agency: Tracing Cultural Continuity and Invention*, (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2005), 11-49.

[48] This paragraph relies heavily on Ishihama, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū*, 25-44.

[49] See Ishihama, "The Image of Ch'ien-Lung's Kingship as Seen From the World of Tibetan Buddhism," 53-4: "In the cyclic year [*dingmao* 丁卯], the fourth year of Zhiyuan (1267), The Shizu 世祖 Emperor [i.e., Qubilai], on the advice of the imperial preceptor ['Phags pa], placed a white parasol over his throne so as to pacify the state. He also placed a golden wheel on top of an iron pillar several [*zhang* 丈] high to the right of the [Chongtian 崇天] Gate, attaching four iron wires to it and thereby showing that the Golden Wheel-turning Sage-King ruled over the four continents (i.e., the whole world).

(Baisangai 白伞盖; Tib. Gdugs dkar), which included two processions around the new city, one exiting the imperial palace through the Chongtianmen.[50] 'Phags pa's efforts may have been designed to make the city that of a *cakravartin*, and it seems 'Phags pa felt that Qubilai could actually be made into a *cakravartin* by means of tantric ritual, which involved 'Phags pa visualizing Qubilai as both a *cakravartin*[51] and Sitātapatrā (*foding rulai* 佛顶如来 [lit. *buddha uṣṇīṣa tathāgata*]; representing Sitātapatrā in the form of the Athenean Uṣṇīṣavijaya or Uṣṇīṣarājāna).[52] This instantiates the ritual enactment

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This was all done at the request of the imperial preceptor." This is a quote from the *Xijin zhi jiyi* 析津志輯佚, (Beijing: Beijing Guji Chubanshe, 1983), 214. The white parasol in this case indexing Sitātapatrā. See below. This golden wheel hovering over the palace is reminiscent of the description of the Golden *cakravartin*'s palace in the "Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta." However, one should be wary of ascribing knowledge of Pāli sutras to Qubilai or even 'Phags pa.

[50] One festival was held on the 14th-16th day of the first month, and proceeded clockwise around the entire city. The second was held on the fifteenth day of the second month, circumambulating the imperial palace (*Yuan shi* 77: 1925-1927).

[51] Specifically, a *cakravartin* with a golden wheel 金輪王, the highest class of *cakravartin.* I am not certain how the various grades of wheel (gold, silver, copper, iron) equates with being a *balacakravartin* (a *cakravartin* who conquers by force, as Činnghis was described above) or a *cakravartin* who conquers by means of his virtue alone, but it seems that most of the *cakravartin*s of the Iron Age were *balacakravartin*s. Ishihama states that there was some question if there could actually be a *cakravartin* during that time, the degenerate age (末世), according to the *Abhidharmakośa*. Tantric ritual and the description of Qubilai (and, it may be recalled, Činggis) as *like* a *cakravartin* may have circumvented this issue. Cf. Ishihama, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū*, 40. Later, in the Qing Dynasty, this does not seems to have been an issue, as the Sixth Paṇ chen Lama Blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes (1738-1780) named the first of Qianlong's incarnations as King Prasenajit, "the supreme of all *cakravartin* kings, ruler of the great country at the time of Śākyamuṇi Buddha." See Uspensky, "The Previous Incarnations of the Qianlong Emperor According to the Panchen Lama Blo Bzang Dpal Lden Ye Shes," 219.

[52] Sitātapatrā is one of the shadowy eight Uṣṇīṣarājāna, according to the (*Ārya-*) *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, ed. Gaṇapati Śāstri, (Trivandrum, 1920-1925), 41.11. Her cohorts being Cakravartin, Uṣṇīṣa, Abhyudgatoṣṇīṣa, Jayoṣṇīṣa, Kamaloṣṇīṣa, Tejorāśi, and Unnatoṣṇīṣa. It is interesting here to speculate on a connection between this

of Geertz's "exemplary center," reflecting a more supernatural order, or ideal civilization.[53]

THE CULT OF SITĀTAPATRĀ

This lesser known deity, and the role she played for Qubilai and 'Phags pa, is relevant to the broader argument. A great deal has been said on the role of Hevajra and Mahākāla in forming Qubilai's identity as a *cakravartin*, but not about Sitātapatrā in this regard, with the notable exception of Ishihama Yumiko. The importance of Sitātapatrā for the rituals of the Yuan empire had been previously acknowledged.[54] In her otherwise excellent article on the development of the Sitātapatrā cult in China, François Wang-Toutain disagreed with Ishihama's view that Sitātapatrā was for Qianlong what Avalokiteśvara was for Tibetan kings. Nonetheless, Ishihama's

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empowerment and a frontispiece illustration from the *Prajñāparamitā* volume of the Mongol-sponsored *Qisha Tripitaka*. There, the Buddha is depicted as delivering a sermon to an audience of monks, bodhisattvas and kings. Chief among these is Sitātapatrā, who is on her own pedestal, which is equal in height to the Buddha's own. Cf. P. Berger, "Preserving the Nation: The Political Uses of Tantric Art in China," in *Latter Days of the Law: Images of Chinese Buddhism, 850-1850*, ed. M. Weidener, (Lawrence, KA: Spencer Museum of Art; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), 106. Could Sitātapatrā and the Buddha refer to Qubilai and 'Phags pa?

[53] For Qubilai as *cakravartin*, cf. Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God"; J.R. Krueger, "Sagan Sechen, *History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662 (Erdeni-yin Tobči)*," *Mongolia Society Occasional Papers* 2, (Bloomington: Mongolia Society, 1967), 77; as *bodhisattva*, cf. K. Sagaster, *Die weisse Gaschichte*, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1976), 109.

[54] Ishihama, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū*; Ishihama, "The Image of Ch'ien-Lung's Kingship as Seen From the World of Tibetan Buddhism"; Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God," 60; Su Bai 宿白, "Yuandai Hangzhou de zangchuan mijiao ji qiyou guanyichi 元代杭州的藏傳密教及其有關遺跡," in *Zangchuan fojiao siyuan kaogu* 藏傳佛教寺院考古, (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1996), 365-387; Xiong Wenbin 熊文彬, *Yuandai zanghan yishu jiaoliu* 元代藏漢藝術交流, (Hebei: Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 44.

statements about the role of Sitātapatrā in the Yuan Dynasty has merit.[55] In her paper, she demonstrates that there was a pre-existing cult of Sitātapatrā in Dunhuang as far back as the eighth century, which became popular among the Chinese there, though it may have been initiated by the Tibetans. Although these rituals were sponsored by the local hierarchs, legitimation of their roles was not part of them. However, as this chapter points out, Qubilai and 'Phags pa were reinventing traditions, and it is in the manner that these traditions evolved over time which matters here. As both Ishihama and Wang-Toutain make clear, the cult of Sitātapatrā remained popular for the emperors of China through at least the Qianlong period, alongside the cults of Hevajra and Mahākāla.

As mentioned above, the cult of Sitātapatrā as instituted in the new city by 'Phags pa included two processions around the city. On the second one (on the fifteenth day of the second month), the parasol which 'Phags pa had placed above Qubilai's throne was taken down and paraded around the city, as a means of state protection.[56] This represented the parasol of Sitātapatrā, and as it usually stood over the throne of Qubilai, he also represented the aspect of kingship which is the protection of the state. The particular power of Sitātapatrā is alluded to in the benefits of her *dhāraṇī*: "All battlelines will immediately be extinguished and epidemics, afflictions, strife, invasions by other armies, and all calamities will all be

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[55] F. Wang-Toutain, "Sitatapatra (Baisangai fomu 白傘蓋佛母; gDugs dkar po): Interactions between Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism," (paper delivered to the Third International Conference on Tibetan Archaeology and Arts, Beijing, 2006, 20-21).

[56] *Yuan shi* 77: 1925-1927.

extinguished."[57] These calamities seem to be particularly state-internal, as opposed to the state-external dangers for which the aid of a vicious deity like Hevajra or Mahākāla might be called upon.[58] Perhaps for 'Phags pa, Mahākāla and Hevajra would protect and aid the new city by looking outward from the city gates, being oriented towards conquest, while Sitātapatrā might protect by looking inward from the city gates, as a State Protector. As 'Phags pa initiated Qubilai into both these maṇḍalas, they became two aspects of Qubilai's imperial character.[59]

It is therefore not surprising that the Yuan dynasty begins with 'Phags pa conferring upon Qubilai the *abhiṣeka* of Hevajra, and gaining the title of Imperial Preceptor. These ritual moments mark the beginning of Qubilai as a *cakravartin* within the ideally ordered world of tantric ritual, and *like* a *cakravartin* in the mundane world. As in Geertz's description of the theater state, "the kings and princes were the impresarios, the priests the directors."[60] The pattern of ordained kingship created by

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[57] Ishihama, "The Image of Ch'ien-Lung's Kingship as Seen From the World of Tibetan Buddhism," 55, quoting Taishō no. 976, p. 403c.

[58] Of course, Hevajra and Mahākāla are considered dharma "protectors" (*mgon po*) in many Tibetan Buddhist schools. However, their form of protection is more along the lines of the "best defense is a good offense." This represents another instance of a society combining the experiences of being "centripetal-closed" and "centrifugal-open" or "compact" as well as "differentialted," as in classical Greece. Cf. J.Z. Smith, "The Influence of Symbols on Social Change," in *Map isNot Territory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 132.

[59] Thus, as we stated at the end of the last chapter, the *cakravartin* modeled on Aśoka held both the reigns of order and chaos, which could both be seen in terms of religious power, and not segregated into dichotomies of sacred/profane.

[60] Geertz, *Negara*, 13.

Qubilai and 'Phags pa was imitated throughout the Yuan dynasty[61], and even into the Ming and Qing dynasties.[62]

This is especially the case with regard to the Yongle emperor, who could have renounced the claims of the Yuan dynasty and sought to ally himself to the traditions, even the *cakravartin* traditions, of earlier dynasties such as the Tang. The fact that he chose to partake of traditions introduced by the Mongolian Yuan dynasty is quite remarkable considering the Ming dynasty was built upon the violent overthrow of the Yuan.[63] In fact, as we see again and again, Yongle valorizes the Yuan traditions, which are in many cases reinventions or evolutions of pre-existing traditions. Yongle in many cases reinvents these non-Mongolian traditions as well. Therefore, when he favors the Sitātapatrā cult, such as printing her *dhāraṇī* on the Yongle Bell (*Yongle dazhong* 永樂大鐘),[64] this can be linked to both the Qubilai innovations as well as the popularity of Sitātapatrā among non-Mongols.[65]

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[61] The rites of Hevajra and Mahākāla played an important role in the enthronement of every subsequent emperor of the Yuan dynasty (*Yuan shi* 202: 4521).

[62] In addition to being reconstructed by Chinese emperors, the post-Yuan Mongol Qaɣans also sought to reforge this *mchod yon* relationship in an effort to lay claim to the, now disintegrated, Mongol imperium. Cf. R.M. McCleary and L.W.J. van der Kuijp. "The Market Approach to the Rise of the Geluk School, 1419-1642." *Journal of Asian Studies* 69, 1 (2010, forthcoming): 28.

[63] Hok-Lam Chan, "The Demise of Yüan Role in Mongolian and Chinese Legends," in *China and the Mongols: History and Legend under the Yüan and Ming,* (Brookfield, Vt: Ashgate, 1999), 65-82. Cf. Hok-Lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking,* (Seattle: University of Washington Press: 2008), 270-277.

[64] Gao Kaijun 高凱軍, Xia Mingming 夏明明, *Faxian Yongle dazhong* 發現永樂大鐘, (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006).

[65] Wang-Toutain, *op. cit.*

This valorization of the Yuan traditions lends an interesting note to the Mongolian version of the building of Beijing, in which Yongle is said to have been the son of Toɣōn-temür Qaɣan (*Bo'erzhijin Tuohu'an* 孛兒只斤妥懽鐵木兒, r. 1333-1370), the last of the Yuan emperors.[66] While it would be naïve to give absolute credence to this legend, it is remarkable that in the Mongol imaginary, Yongle represented a continuity with the Yuan dynasty, not a disjunction. In the legend, once Yongle discovers his true parentage, "he absolutely discontinued [the practice] of killing and sacrificing Mongols."[67] This legend may demonstrate a Mongol-Chinese détente, reflecting the Yongle emperor's need for Mongol allies. The Mongols, with whom Yongle had established ties during his time as Prince of Yan, certainly advanced his usurpation of the throne.[68] Indeed, this may have influenced his decision to return the imperial capital from Nanjing to Beijing, in addition to other political and geomantic advantages of Beijing as discussed by Hok-Lam Chan.[69]

CAKRAVARTIN IN THE *MCHOD YON* RELATIONSHIP

The duty *par excellence* of the *cakravartin* is upholding order. Apropos of the monastic establishment, he is the exemplary patron (*dānapati*).[70] As the quintessential

[66] Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, 276.

[67] *ibid.*

[68] Berger, "Preserving the Nation," 107.

[69] Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, 93-97.

[70] Ruegg, "*Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*," 448: "In the ideal Buddhist society and polity, the King, a layman, is the *dānapati par excellence* to the community of

embodiment of the *cakravartin* king was Aśoka, by identifying himself as a *cakravartin* king, Qubilai claimed a broad lineage of (mythologized and mythologizing) historical antecedents: Čingghis, Aśoka and the Indo-Buddhist ancestry that encompassed Aśoka and others. This portentous title became part and parcel of the imperial persona during the reign of Qubilai and remained so throughout the Qing.

As we have seen, the Mongolian use of the *cakravartin* was innovative:

> By his worldly activism, the *cakravartin* moves the wheel of time and brings the universe closer to the ages of salvation. In the later imperial cult of the *cakravartin*, the emperor was also understood to stand as the first of two agents with the *lama*, who aided in the translation of a Buddha consciousness into worldly acts, and the emperor himself was understood to be the reincarnation of earlier *cakravartin* kings.[71]

Thus, Qubilai could partake in the legacies (both pious and military) of the previous Indian, Mongolian and Chinese *cakravartins*, viewing himself as their heir. Indeed, Qubilai went one step further in seeing himself as a *bodhisattva*, specifically Mañjuśrī, another imperial characteristic which endured through the Qing Dynasty.[72]

Within this institutionalized imperial framework of *cakravartin* and *bla ma*, Qubilai played the role of *cakravartin* and 'Phags pa *bla ma*. The emperor's estate grant

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renunciant monks. He has often been exemplified by the idealized figure of King (Dharma-) Aśoka as *dharmarāja*."

[71] P. Crossley, "Review of: The Rulerships of China," *The American Historical Review* 97, 5 (1992): 1482. It would be difficult to overstate the importance of 'Phags pa's role in propagating, and perhaps to some extent fashioning, this bipartite system of emperor (*qua cakravartin*) and *bla ma* (*qua buddha*). As Franke states, "P'ags-pa represents the highest teacher of the present *kalpa*, Buddha, and Khubilai is but the representative or substitute of the original *cakravartin*, Chinggis Khan." Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God," 61. Cf. K. Sagaster, "Herrschaftsideologie und Friedendsgedanke bei den Mongolen," *Central Asiatic Journal* 17 (1973): 227-30.

[72] As the above discussion of the kings of Southeast Asia may have made clear, the king qua *bodhisattva* was by no means a development unique to the Buddhism of Central or East Asia.

to 'Phags pa was more than simple patronage, it personified the royal *dāna* toward the Buddhist clergy, fulfilling the role being a *cakravartin* demanded. As Seyfort Ruegg points out, the *mchod yon* institution may reflect the relation between *cakravartin* (the ideal *yon bdag*) and his spiritual counterpart, the *bla ma* (*mchos gnas; bla mchod*).[73]

The Indian understanding of the *cakravartin* did not bind the king to any particular religion, as Hindus, Buddhists and Jains all theorized their own versions of this role. However, the Mongols inherited a distinctly Buddhist variant of the *cakravartin* ideology, linked in their case to Buddhism. Though Aśoka did not patronize Buddhists exclusively, and Qubilai was also somewhat ecumenical in his views, adherence to Buddhism was the characteristic mark of the Aśokan *cakravartin*, and that is the model Qubilai would follow. This strengthens the idea that Qubilai's imperial aspirations were bound to his relationship with 'Phags pa. As the idea of emperor *qua cakravartin* was institutionalized, so were the religious bonds which this title entailed.

Unfortunately, little is known about the estate Qubilai granted to 'Phags pa, other than its name, the fact that it was designed by Anige (1245-1306),[74] that a *stūpa* was built in the Indian style to house the relics of 'Phags pa, and a few details about its function. In the twelfth month of the seventh year of Qubilai's reign, Qubilai started building Da Huguo Renwang temple, finishing it in the third month of the eleventh year. In the twelfth month of the ninth year, he started building Da Shengshou Wan'an si 大

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[73] Ruegg, "*Mchod yon, yon mchod* and *mchod gnas/yon gnas*," 449.

[74] Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, "元代の工芸家ネパールの王族阿尼哥の伝に就いて Gendai no kōgeika Nepāru no ōzoku 'A-ni-ko' no den ni tsuite," *Mōko gakuhō* 蒙古学報 2 (1941): 250-51.

聖壽万安寺 (now Baita si 白塔寺), which took exactly seven years to complete.[75] These two temples arose from the need to conduct state rituals. In his capacity as imperial preceptor, 'Phags pa lived in the Da Huguo Renwang temple compound, and conducted state ceremonies, such as longevity rituals, at the nearby Da Shengshou Wan'an si.[76] By the time Yongle came to power, it was in ruins, probably due to the chaos in Beijing at the fall of the Yuan Dynasty and the rise of the Ming Dynasty, a dynastic change that prompted one of the most debilitating civil wars in Chinese history. Despite the overthrow of Mongol rule which to some justified revolution in the country, the Ming Dynasty (and the subsequent Qing) retained of Qubilai's innovations.

Just as Qubilai recalled the time when the khanate was absolute under his grandfather Čingghis Qan, and a *cakravartin*'s unquestioned right to authority, Yongle actively made himself heir to Qubilai's legacy and all it entailed. There are several

[75] Da Shengshou Wan'an si was itself built over a previous Liao period temple, and re-interred relics from that temple into the new stūpa. Cf. Thorp, "Exploring the Buddhist Temples of Beijing," 43. This may indicate that Qubilai and 'Phags pa were neither creating the empire *ex nihilo*, nor ignoring non-Mongol precedents. As Hok-Lam Chan has pointed out, this was clearly the case in the building of Qubilai's Shangdu 上都 (Upper Capital) at Kaiping fu 開平府, which was modeled on Chang'an, indicating the Mongol succession to the Tang imperium. Cf. Hok-Lam Chan, "Liu Ping-chun 劉秉忠 (1216-74), A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung Pao* 53 (1967): 127. Hok-Lam Chan relies on the archaeological work of Harada Yoshito, particularly as analysed by Ishida Mikinosuke. Cf. Ishida Mikinosuke 石田幹之助, "Gen no Jōto ni tsuite 元の上都に就いて" (revised), *Nihon Daigaku sōritsu shichijūshū kinen rombun-shū* 日本大学創立七十週年紀念論文集 1 (1960): 271-319. Further, Francke has noted that the eight Buddhist and Daoist monasteries of the city were arranged octagonally, following the trigrams from the *Yijing*. Thus, the religious design of the city "became a symbolical representation of the forces of the universe." Cf. Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God," 37. This may also have been the case with the cult of Sitātapatrā (see above).

[76] Ishihama, *Chibetto Butsukyōsekei no Rekishiteki kenkyū*, 25 & 41.

parallels between the rise to power of Qubilai and Yongle. The accession of both was a matter of some dispute, and both made use of the *mchod yon* relationship to authenticate their rule.

Yongle aimed to authenticate both his parentage and his status as a *cakravartin.* As noted above, there was a tradition which held that the Yongle emperor was actually the son of the last Mongol qaɣan, whose queen was taken by Ming Taizu (Hongwu), the first Ming emperor. In another tradition, he was the son of a concubine, and not Empress Ma.[77] Either way, if these stories were to be believed, he had no claim to the throne as the heir of the Hongwu Emperor (regardless of how Mongols might have enjoyed the notion of Toγon Temür's heir ruling as Ming Emperor).

The resurrection of the *mchod yon* relationship played a part in dispelling opposition to Yongle's rule. As Patricia Berger has aptly noted, by inviting Karma pa V, De bzhin gshegs pa, to perform the funerary rituals for Emperor Hongwu and Empress Ma, he was declaring them his parents. At the same time, he was gesturing to the previous Yuan dynasty relationship between De bzhin gshegs pa's previous incarnation, Karma pa II Karma Pakshi (1206-1283), and both Qubilai and Möngke Qaɣan,[78] who were, in a sense, Yongle's previous incarnations as Emperor and *cakravartin.* This is not to state that it was in any way essential that Yongle have a lineal descendant of previous

[77] P. Berger, "Miracles in Nanjing: An Imperial Record of the Fifth Karmapa's Visit to the Chinese Capital," in *Cultural Intersections in Later Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Marsha Weidener, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 149-50. Cf. H. Serruys. "A Manuscript Version of the Legend of the Mongol Ancestry of the Yong-lo Emperor," *Analecta Mongolica*, Mongolia Society Occasional Papers, no. 8 (Bloomington, Ind.: Mongolia Society, 1972), 19-61.

[78] Berger, "Miracles in Nanjing," 149.

mchodyon participants act as his *mchod gnas*, as the Emperor also invited Tsongkhapa and his disciple Grags pa rgyal mtshan to Nanjing, presumably for the same reasons as he invited the Fifth Karmapa.[79]

When De bzhin gshegs pa arrived in Nanjing, the Emperor went out of the inner palace gates to receive him, offering him a golden wheel with a thousand spokes.[80] Did this wheel signify the *dharmacakra* of a Buddha or the *ājñācakra* of a *cakravartin*? Did it represent the Emperor or the Karmapa? Given that the Emperor seemed to demonstrate that he and the Karmapa were of equal status,[81] one fulfilling the role of *buddha*, the other that of a *cakravartin*, the ideal *mchod yon* relationship. Recall that one of 'Phags pa's early additions to Qanbaliq was the golden wheel over the main gate to the imperial palace, and it was outside the inner gate that Yongle went to meet De bzhin gshegs pa.

However, times may have changed or lessons learned from the relationship between Tibetan hierarchs and Yuan Emperors,[82] for De bzhin gshegs pa did not stay to

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[79] It would be improbable to go so far as Shakabpa in stating that the reason Yongle invited the Fifth Karmapa was because none of the Gelukpa lamas would accept his invitations. Cf. Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, 338: "Mi dbang gong ma Grags pa rgyal mtshan Rgya nag tu gdan 'dren zhus kyang zhal bzhes ma gnang bas karma pa de bzhin gshegs pa me khyi 1406 lor gdan drangs."

[80] Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, 338: "gser gyi 'khor lo rtsibs stong ldan pa zhig phul."

[81] *ibid.* "Bzhugs khri mtho dma' dang / nye chas sogs rgya rgyal rang dang khyad par med pa'i gzegs bstod."

[82] 'Phags pa and his family lived so long with the Mongols that his brother adopted their style of dress, for which he was severely criticized by other Tibetans; cf. M. Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 143. In the more nationalistic era of the Phag mo gru, De bzhin gshegs pa and the other Tibetans invited to the Ming court may have thought twice about the ramifications of a prolonged stay at court, even if the Ming emperors had no thoughts of political

fulfill his role as the emperor's *mchod gnas.* It is likely that these circumstances turned Śāriputra's arrival into a means of fulfilling the *mchod yon* relationship.

Śāriputra and the *Vajrāsana Stūpa*

Śāriputra's responsibility for the building of the Jingang baozuo ta has been contested. There are two problems: first, the identity of Śāriputra and Xifan Paṇḍita (西番班的達); second, the question of the authenticity of the tradition that Xifan Paṇḍita actually did bring the plans for the Vajrāsana stūpa. The latter problem was raised by Jan Yün-hua in his article on Paṇḍita in the well-known *Dictionary of Ming Biography.*[83] Jan asserts that Paṇḍita (班的達／板的達／斑迪達) was the honorific title of the fourteenth century Indian scholar Sahajaśrī.[84] Jan states

> According to certain later records, such as *Ti-ching ching-wu lüeh* by Liu-T'ung (*q.v.*) and *Jih-hsia chiu-wen k'ao* by Chu I-tsun (ECCP), Paṇḍita arrived at the Ming court during the early years of the Yung-lo period. These sources also connect him with the construction of the Chen-chüeh 真覺 monastery, popularly known as the Five Pagoda Temple, to the west of Peking. This tradition was subsequently repeated in an inscription on the above-mentioned monastery erected by the Ch'ien-lung emperor in 1761, and has also been voiced by Tokiwa Daijō 常磐大定 and Sekino Tei 関野貞, Shan Shi-yüan 單士元 and Wang Pi-wen 王璧文, and Lo Che-wen 羅哲文. The tradition is, however, based on later sources and is not authentic; earlier documents clearly refute it.

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expansion, as Shakabpa would have it. Cf. Shakabpa, *Bod kyi srid don rgyal rabs*, 314-15: "Chos rang gi thog nas ches mtho'i bla ma kha shes gdan 'dren zhus te mchod yon gyi 'brel ba la brten nas Rgya Bod rgyal khab phan tshun gnyis mthun lam zhi bder gnas thabs kho na las, rgya bskyed kyi bsam pa rtsa ba nas byas yod pa ma re."

[83] Jan Yün-Hua, "Paṇḍita," *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, vol. II, ed. L.C. Goodrich and C. Fang (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976), 1111-1113.

[84] For more on this interesting character, see the introduction. See also Hasebi Yūkei 長谷部幽蹊, *Min Shin Bukkyō kyōdanshi kenkyū* 明清佛教教團史研究, (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Shuppan, 1993), 47-58.

Jan's point that Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tei[85], Shan Shiwen and Wang Piwen[86] and Luo Zhewen[87] base themselves on late sources is correct. Further, in their scant notice of Paṇḍita and the founding of Zhenjue si, it is clear they relied on only one source (cited or not), the above quoted *Dijing jingwu lue*. However, lateness is not a sufficient reason for dismissing its claim to authenticity.[88] As Timothy Brook has aptly shown, early and middle Ming dynasty elites were largely Confucian, and were not always particularly interested in recording details about Buddhist monasteries, especially those constructed after the Hongwu restrictions.

While the Emperor and the public may have favored Buddhism, and patronized its monasteries, they were not usually the authors of gazetteers.[89] In the late Ming,

[85] Tokiwa Daijō and Sekino Tei, *Shina bukkyō shiseki hyōkai* 支那佛教史蹟詳解, (Tokyo, 1928), 230-233. While the section on Dazhenjue si makes no explicit reference to the *Dijing jingwu lue*, it is quite clear that the opening remark on Paṇḍita merely represents a gloss of it. Tokiwa and Sekino do, however, make it clear that there was a preexisting temple on the site of Zhenjue si, founded during the Yuan dynasty.

[86] Shan Shiyuan and Wang Biwen, *Mingdai jianzhu dashi nianbiao* 明代建築大事年表, (Beiping, 1937), VI/79. With regard to the person responsible for the design of the stūpa, this text cites *Dijing jingwu lue* verbatim.

[87] Luo Zhewen, *Wuta si* 五塔寺 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1957), 1. This text also quotes exclusively from the *Dijing jingwu lue* on the subject of Paṇḍita.

[88] Nor, for that matter, is relying on a single source. If it were, Jan's description of Sahajaśrī could also be dismissed, as it seems to almost exclusively rely on Ge Yinliang 葛寅亮, *Jinling fancha zhi* 金陵梵刹志, (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997 [1607]), 37/1a. This text was not written much earlier than the c. 1635 *Dijing jingwu lue*.

[89] T. Brook, *The Chinese State in Ming Society*, (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 139-181. He notes: "As a site for the dissemination of official knowledge about the life and administration of a county, the gazetteer was a text through which local officials and elites strove to project an image of local conformity to state requirements...From any vantage point, however interpreted, Buddhism was conspicuously present on the local landscape of power. Conservative Confucians were unable to resolve the duality between the public order mandated by the state and the popular space in which most

when the gazetteers mentioning both paṇḍitas were written, this attitude changed. Gentry patronage of Buddhist institutions came into vogue,[90] perhaps generating more detailed entries of Buddhist monasteries in the gazetteers. The *Dijing'jingwu lue*, as Susan Naquin has shown, represents "the most substantial and important of the guides-cum-travel-accounts that survive...a refined guide for leisured literati visitors."[91] Later, in the Qing, gazetteers were more likely to record details about any monastery given a title by the Emperor, which Zhenjue si 真覺寺 was on numerous occasions.

Earlier documents such as the *Jinling fancha zhi* do not refute that Paṇḍita brought the plans for the Jingang baozuo stūpa, they simply record Paṇḍita as having resided in China, specifically Nanjing, and having died in 1381, well before the Yongle emperor had ascended to the throne.

Jan's apparent assumption that only one person could claim the title "Paṇḍita," seems naïve considering the number of people carrying the title *fawang* 法王 or *guoshi* 國師. The title is significant nonetheless. When Yongle gave someone the title "paṇḍita," he thereby recalled the slightly earlier paṇḍita, Sahajaśrī, who successfully resided at the court of both Toγon Temür and Hongwu (both, it may be recalled,

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people lived, as their stream of offended commentaries suggests. The action of emperors only made the situation worse, for while the state's official position accorded with the separation of doctrines to which they subscribed, imperial patronage offended their sense of what Confucian emperors were supposed to do."

[90] As Brook (*The Chinese State in Ming Society*, 156) states, "In the late Ming, Buddhism provided a context for local elites to create an identity for themselves in terms that were to some measure independent of the state. The Buddhist monastery was attractive to the gentry as an object of patronage by virtue of being a respected non-state forum for publicizing their elite status."

[91] Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life*, 255.

possible fathers of Yongle). The Yongle emperor's patronage of Śāriputra could be seen as linking him more closely with the paternal legacy he wished to foster among the Han, as he was effectively duplicating the Hongwu emperor's patronage of Sahajaśrī.[92] At the same time, he was indexing the ideal *cakravartin*'s patronage of Buddhist scholars.[93] Indeed, he may have been indicating 'Phags pa, part of whose posthumous title was "paṇḍita."[94] At the same time, "paṇḍita" may have simply served as a generic distinction for most (educated) Indian Buddhists appearing in China, as was certainly the case in Tibet. Indeed, Śāriputra is given this title in his Tibetan biographies.

The problem of Śāriputra's identity as the Paṇḍita who was established in the Zhenzue temple precinct by Yongle is partially illuminated by his title, Paṇḍita (板的達) or Wuming Paṇḍita (五明板的達), in his Chinese biography in the *Emended Record of Eminent Monks*.[95] This record also mentioned that Śārputra received the title of "state

[92] As noted in the introduction, the biographies of Śāriputra and Sahajaśrī are very similar, both in their training as monks and their reception by the Chinese emperors. It may be wondered if this similitude was not intentional, especially given the Yongle emperor's interest in his historical legacy.

[93] Undoubtedly, the Hongwu emperor was also cognizant of the *cakravartin* implications of sponsoring Indian monks. Jan Yün-Hua has suggested that the Hongwu emperor thought of himself as revivifying the Chinese Buddhist *saṅgha* with the presence of Sahajaśrī, and used him as a model for the Chinese monks to emulate (Jan Yün-Hua, "Paṇḍita," 1111-2). Toγon Temür seemed to have similar reservations about the quality of Chinese Buddhist monks, which may have spurred him to invite Sahajaśrī originally. As we have noted in this and the previous chapter, reform of the *saṅgha* was characteristic of *cakravartin* rule in the manner of Aśoka. The emperors were therefore in many ways invested in the idea of the imported Indian Buddhist monks as being ideal. They were scholars, model upholders of the *vinaya*, and also tantric adepts.

[94] Hoong Teik Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 35.

[95] Minghe, *Bu "Xu gaoseng zhuan"* 補續高僧傳, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995-9), Z. 1524.77: 531a.

preceptor" (*Daguo shi* 大國師) and a golden seal (*jinyin* 金印),[96] just as Paṇḍita is recorded to have received in the *Dijing jingwu lue*. These two documents seem to be independent witnesses to Śāriputra, despite the latter text not mentioning his name, only his title.[97]

One of the few secondary sources examining the life of this Paṇḍita Śāriputra in any depth, Tong Xun stays close to the narrative structure of the *Dijing jingwu lue*, noting that the Indian monk came and respectfully offered the five golden Buddha images, and the plans for the Vajrāsana stūpa to Yongle, indicating that the gazetteer is Tong Xun's main source. However, he expands on his source text by adding that Yongle's relationship with Śāriputra was close, and that they often discussed Buddhist sūtras and śastras, getting along extremely well (明成组与他谈经论法十分投机).[98] Thereafter, Yongle conferred the title of state preceptor and the golden seal, and personally selected the Paṇḍita's residence to be the Zhenjue temple compound.

[96] In contrast, Sahajaśrī received only a "silver decoration" and a different title, Shanshi chanshi 善世禪師, from the Hongwu emperor according to Jan. Significantly, however, he seems to have been assigned to the "office supervising the Buddhist affairs of the empire" (Jan, "Paṇḍita," 1111). This was probably the bureau of *congzhi yuan* 總制院, of which 'Phags pa was the first authority (*Yuan shi* 202: 4518).

[97] The relative dearth of information relating to Śāriputra's activities in Beijing, and with regard to the emperor should not be thought to indicate a lack of importance on his part. The imperial favor he was granted should attest to his importance. In general, as Robinson has pointed out "Buddhist, Daoist, and Muslim religious figures...were also members of the court. Their prominence varied considerably from reign to reign, even from year to year, and their presence in the historical record is often shadowy, the details of their activities frustratingly oblique, and descriptions of their influence on the court nearly always negative (the vitriol indirectly reflects their importance, since the record were written by rivals – civil officials)." D.M. Robinson, "The Ming Court," 25.

[98] Tong Xun 佟洵, *Fojiao yu Beijing Simiao Wenhua*, (Beijing: Zhongyang Minzudaxue Chubanshe, 1997), 212.

This account suggests that Yongle's housing choice was neither immediate, nor haphazard. He may indeed have been recalling Qubilai's installation of 'Phags pa in Da Huguo Renwang temple after entitling him as imperial preceptor. And the tantric initiations Śāriputra conferred upon Yongle in the course of their relationship[99] may have served a similar purpose to 'Phags pa's, that is, an elevation to *cakravartin* status.[100] Still, Yongle may not have simply been content to imitate the *mchod yon* relationship between Qubilai and 'Phags pa. He may have added an innovation of his own, signaled by the name of Śāriputra's residence, *Zhenjue si*, the "Great Awakening" temple, or perhaps "Mahābodhi temple." By appending this name to a temple originally built by Mongols[101], Yongle merged the Yuan dynasty concepts of a *cakravartin* with those of former dynasties (a source, as has been noted, of much of the Yuan conception of rulership), which included reference to Aśoka building the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi temple and 84,000 stūpas for the Buddha's relics.[102]

Further, the site of the city was important for both political and religious reasons. It was the seat of the Liao and Jin empires, and well as the Yuan. According to

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[99] Zhu Houzhao 朱厚照, "ChongxiuYuanzhaosi beiwen"重修圓照寺碑文, in Cui Zhengsen, et al., *Wutai shan beiwen xuanzhu* 五台山碑文选注, (Taiyuan: Beiyue wen yi, 1995), 17; Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsal gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba*, (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993), 39 [= 1831 blockprint (ed. Ngag dbang bskal bzang and Gro tshang mkhan sprul), f. 251].

[100] Of course, this does not mean that Yongle did not take *abhiṣeka* from De bshin gshegs pa or any other high lama, and to the same end.

[101] "真覺寺原名正覺寺，乃蒙古人所建," *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考, 卷77, citing the travel guide 《燕都游览志》.

[102] For earlier Chinese emperors equating themselves with *cakravartin*s and *buddhas*, cf. Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God," 52-3.

Chinese geomancy, it was also the center of the world. For this, the Yongle emperor may have been reaching back at least as far as the beginnings of the Yuan dynasty to a Daoist/Buddhist figure who had become a sort of culture hero by the time of the Ming, Liu Bingzhong. During the Ming, he was sometimes conflated with Ming Taizu's chief advisor Liu Bowen and Yongle's trusted advisor, Daoyuan (aka Yao Guangxiao). He also influenced Ming self-fashioning, as tales became current during the Ming that while Liu Bingzhong overtly worked for Qubilai and the Yuan, he secretly promoted the (very much in the future) Ming dynasty. His role in the planning of Qanbaliq overshadowed that of 'Phags pa, and as a master geomancer, he is said to have chosen the site of the future capital the center of heaven and earth.[103] This ascription goes back to the fengshui master of the Southern Song, the Neo-Confucian Zhu Xi, who called it "the center of the terrain under heaven" and "the center of heaven and earth" (*tiandi zhongjian* 天地中間).[104]

The building of Zhenzhue temple and the Jingang baozuo stūpa need to be understood in light of this coincidence of religious traditions. As has been said, several political and religious reasons prompted Yongle to choose Beijing as his capital, the Zhenjue temple and the Jingang baozuo stūpa focuses many of them. As a particular geographic locus, this religious complex recalls the Yuan legacy of the *mchod yon* relationship with 'Phags pa as an instantiation of the *cakravartin-buddha* ideal, appropriate to house Śāriputra as a state preceptor. Additionally, Beijing, as the center

[103] Hok-Lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, 45.

[104] *ibid.* We should be wary of seeing this as mere eulogizing, as this city was at that time the capital of the Jurchen Jin state, rival to the Song.

of heaven and earth, represented the ideal place to build a Vajrāsana. Further, on the site of that Vajrāsana, no one was more suited to preside than the former abbot of India's Vajrāsana temple, Śāriputra. Therefore, while the various Tibetan hierarchs courted by the Yongle emperor, such as Bde bzhin gshegs pa and Tsong kha pa, would have been suited to fulfill the *mchod yon* relationship, only Śāriputra could unite, in his persona, that relationship as well as the Chinese (Buddhist, Daoist and Confucian) geomantic ideas of Beijing as the center of the world and the particularly Buddhist cosmological situation of Vajrāsana as the *axis mundi*.[105]

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[105] It may be remembered that in the last chapter, we supposed that Dhammacetti and Tilokarāja, holding *cakravartin* aspirations, might have considered their capitals as the center of the world based on the "Cakkavatti Sīhanāda Sutta," which stated that the *cakravartin*'s capital was the center of the world. In that case, we could assume a knowledge of Pāli sūtras on the part of these kings due to their historical and religious contexts, the the fact that both had been monks for a period. In the case of the Yongle Emperor, in a very different historical and religious milieu, one should not assume knowledge of these same sūtras without much more evidence. It could be, however, that there were Mahāyāna sources for this, which might also shed light on the exact precedent for Qubilai's golden wheel which hovered over the palace.

One might also note the similarity of building a temple at the primordial sacred center in the South- and East-Asian traditions with that of Jerusalem. As J.Z. Smith points out it "is made explicit in the rabbinic traditions that Israel, Temple, and Torah were pre-existent, created by the deity before anything was brought into being." J.Z. Smith, "Earth and Gods," 111. In this case, the Stone of Foundation would be the rough equivalent of the vajrāsana capstone. More interesting than this similarity, however, is how it can be put to work in the context of exile. While the theme of exile will be brought up in the next chapter in relation to Śāriputra's specific experience, it is worth reflecting here on the notion of exile in a broader context, and one that can incorporate advances made in the context of Jewish exile and the destruction of the Temple. Did the growing exile of Buddhism and Buddhists from India allow the Holy Land itself to be exiled? Did this allow the exile of relics to Sri Lanka, only to be brought home during the conflagration at the end of time? Did this allow the Buddhist *cakravartin* ideal to be exiled to the rest of Asia? Indeed, did this allow the navel of the world, Vajrāsana itself to be exiled? And did this then allow for a greater agency on the part of non-Indian Buddhist sites and personalities? As Smith notes, exiled Jews could recreate this Center at ritually specific times and places. However, his essay is not particularly historically-minded (as he himself laments in his postscript), and it

As we have seen, the Yongle Emperor may have had bigger plans for the Zhenjue temple than generally thought. According to all sources, Yongle built the temple precinct. However, most attribute the building of the Jingang baozuo *stūpa* to the later Chenghua emperor. This would make the Yongle emperor's "citing" of Vajrāsana more of an implication based on building a Mahābodhi temple precinct, with a former abbot of Vajrāsana installed within. This argument rests on the fact that that while Śāriputra gave the design plans of the Mahābodhi *stūpa* to Yongle, it was completed only forty years later, after five emperors had passed. Yet even then, Śāriputra's name is invoked in the imperial decree.[106] Tokiwa and Tong disagree slightly, with Tokiwa stating that the stūpa was built in the ninth year of the Chenghua emperor (1473), and Tong arguing that though finished in this year, construction began in the second year of his reign, 1466 (see n. 235). The crux of the argument is when the

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remains to be seen if this traveling center was the product of exile, or if it was appropriated from a more esoteric Judaic tradition because of exile. Cf. Smith on Jewish exile (*op. cit.*, 119-128). In the same way, Buddhologists must investigate the historical development of the idea that the *vajrakāya* of the Buddhist adept contains all the ritual centers of India. Like the Judaic material, we must look to see if this idea was the product of a sense of exile, or borrowed from esoteric (tantric) forms of Buddhism as a method for coping with exile. In fact, it would be interesting to see if the contruction of Mahābodhi replicas could be seen as an appropriation of a tantric concept by both exoteric and esoterically inclined communities. Simply stating that the concept of the all-encompassing *vajrakāya* was available (which is usually trotted out when discussing Mahābodhi replicas) should no longer be good enough for the serious historian of religions. Also, like the Judaic example, Buddhist exile *ended*. The renegotiation of a newly available Holy Land also marks a rich avenue for inquiry, as it involved an appraisal of both the original trauma of exile as well as the strategies devised by each community to cope with the exile.

[106] Cf. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bukkyō shiseki hyōkai*, 231:「成化九年、寺に詔して、嘗て班迪達上る所の中印度金剛寶座規式に準ひて、塔お立てしむ」; also, Tong, *Fojiao yu Beijing simiao wenhua*, 212): "到了明宪宗成化二年（公元1466年），才按照板的达所献的建筑式样，修建了金刚宝座塔，并重修寺院。工程历时七年，到成化九年（公元1473年）才告落成。"

building started. That it was completed in 1473 is a matter of record from the plaque above the main gate stating "敕賜金剛寶座"(The imperially granted *Vajrāsana*" and the inscription "大明成化九年十一月初二日建" ("Established on the second day of the eleventh month of the ninth year of [Emperor] Chenghua [of the] Great Ming"). When it was initiated, and by whom, are open questions.

While the design for the Jingang baozuo stūpa was undoubtedly based on the plans Śāriputra offered the Yongle emperor, it is unclear that they were acted on until the Chenghua period. Luo Zhewen stated that the project was initiated in the Yongle period, based on an inscription recorded in the *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考, the original inscription is dated to 1473, the year the stūpa was completed, though the copy of the inscription cited is from the Qianlong period. It states:

> In the early Yongle [period], the State Preceptor, the Indian monk Paṇḍita [from the] Western regions was [here]. He offered [to the Emperor] golden Buddha images [and] a design of the Vajrāsana. Thereupon, [the emperor] chose a site outside the western gate [and] established Zhuenjue temple. [He] initiated a throne [for] the golden images, but this was not easily completed; not until this year [1473]. I know the benefit of completing unfinished good deeds, and of course being desirous of that, it was [my] fate to undertake the refurbishing of the temple sanctuary, creating the Vajrāsana stūpa using stone. The base is high, reckoned in *zhang*, and above are five Buddhas, divided between five towers.[107] These are measured in *zhang* [and] *che*. Plus, the throne (*baozuo*) of Central Indian [style] is not at all strange. Completed [and] stele erected in the 11th month of the 30th year of the sexagenary cycle of the Chenghua [period] (i.e. 1473).

[107] "永樂初，有西城梵僧班迪達大國師，貢金身諸佛之像，金剛寶座之式。由是擇地西關外，建立真覺寺，創治金身寶座，弗克易就，於茲有年。朕念善果未完，必欲新之，命工督修殿宇，創金剛寶座，以石為之。基高數丈，上有五佛，分為五塔。其丈尺規矩，与中印土〔read: 度〕之寶座無以異也。成化癸已〔read: 巳〕十一月告成立石。" *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考, cited in Luo, *Wuta si*, 1.

This passage clarifies some issues that might have arisen from a reading of the (above cited) *Dijing jingwu lue* alone. Here, for instance, Paṇḍita (Śāriputra) is more clearly of Indian origin by the use of the term *fan* (梵), as opposed to the more hazy *fan* (番) which could indicate any place west of Dunhuang. *Xifan* 西番, an appellation of Śāriputra in the *Dijing jingwu lue*, was frequently used for Tibet,[108] especially during the Ming, as was the term *xicheng* 西域 which here takes the place of *xifan* 西番.[109]

In addition, the *Dijing jingwu lue* clarifies the use here of the term *Zhong Yindu* 中印度 (*Zhong Yindu shi* 中印度式 in the *Dijing jingwu lue*) as "Central Indian style." There may have been an aesthetic concern that an Indian-style temple may have looked odd in the middle of Beijing. However, the author assures readers that effect was "not at all strange" 無以異也.[110]

Finally, this passage clarifies how this edifice may have been understood, by at least the author of this copy of this text, if not the purported author Chenghua and Yongle before him. Unquestionably, this was a replica of the Mahābodhi temple in Bodhgayā, built at the Vajrāsana. *Jinggang baozuo* literally translates as "vajra

[108] Toh, "Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China," 73.

[109] Toh, *idem*, 36.

[110] It is possible that *Zhong Yindu* [*shi*] 中印度[式] could mean "Sino-Indian [style]" instead of "Central Indian [style]," since *Zhong Yin* 中印 alone is the usual term for "Sino-Indian." *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考 might be making the case that the mix of Chinese and Indian style was not strange. However, I have never seen an instance in any other source (including the 581 mentions in the Taishō canon) of *Zhong Yindu* 中印度 meaning anything but Central India, or perhaps Magadha. Further, in the fourteenth century Chinese biography of Sahajaśrī by Zhiguang 智光, the former is described as hailing from "the middle India of the [five] Indias" (天竺之中印度). Zhiguang 智光, *Xitian Bandida chanshi zhilue* 西天班的答禪師誌略, 1217.

throne."[111] The usual translation of *vajrāsana*, however, is *jingang zuo* 金剛座, or "vajra seat."[112] Here, *vajra* has the connotation of "adamantine." Traditional and modern scholars (such as Sakya Paṇḍita[113] and Tong[114]) explain that all Bodhisattvas go to sit at the Vajrāsana on the eve of becoming Buddhas, as only that site can sustain the energetic shock produced by this transformation, and thus this seat (*āsana*) is adamantine (*vajra*). Tong goes on to state that the *stūpa* erected on this site is therefore called the vajra throne stūpa.[115]

The passage from the *Rixia jiuwen kao* 日下旧闻考, however, provides another possible explanation. The text makes it clear that this edifice was designed as a throne

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[111] *Jingang* 金剛 = *vajra*; *baozuo* 寶座 = throne.

[112] Also 金剛座床 and 菩提道場. It may be noted that the *Hanyu dacidian* does not list an entry for *jingang baozuo*, but defines *jingangzuo* as the place Śākyamuṇi became a *buddha*, i.e. *vajrāsana*; cf. HYDCD 11: 1162a. The Sanskrit-Japanese 梵和大辭典 also lists the translations of *vajrāsana* as 金剛座， 金剛之座， and 金剛座処 [1166b]. In fact, I have only seen one instance where *jingang baozuo* 金剛寶座 is glossed as a single term, and that is in the Japanese 佛教大辞典 *Dictionary of Buddhism* where it is described thus (Buddhagayā entry): 「成道の聖域は菩提道場（ボーデイムンダ bodhimaṇda）と呼ばれ、仏陀がその下で成道したと伝える菩提樹と樹下の金剛宝座は、欄楯（阿育〔アショーカ Aśoka〕王の造と伝えるてすり）に囲まれている）。("The sanctuary of enlightenment, called the "bodhimaṇda" – [i.e.] the Bodhi tree (the place under which the Buddha attains enlightenment, and the 金剛宝座 which is under the tree – is enclosed by a railing (created by Aśoka).") Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, et al., *Sōgō Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辞典, (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 1988), 1253c-1254a. Here, it is clear that 金剛宝座 is the equivalent of *vajrāsana*, though this is the only time in this large work where this term is used, the consistent translation of *vajrāsana* being 金剛座.

[113] See the description of Vajrāsana (*rdo rje gdan*) in Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, *Sdom pa gsum rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos*, 297-30.

[114] Tong, *Fojiao yu Beijing simiao wenhua*, 215.

[115] *ibid.*

for the five golden statues brought by Śāriputra (金身寶座). When discussing the Sino-Indian style, the author speaks in terms of the throne (寶座) not the *vajrāsana stūpa* (金剛寶座). A *baozuo* 寶座 alone indicates a very particular type of throne. The *Hanyu Dacidian* defines it thus: 寶座： 本指神佛或帝王的座位[116] ("The throne of a god, buddha or emperor"). This could indicate that the *jingang* and the *baozuo* are two different entities, and that the *jingang* refers to the golden statues. Therefore, *jingang baozuo* may be an abbreviation for *jingang zhi baozuo* (金剛之寶座). Here, *jingang* maintains a distinctly Chinese meaning, that of a protector (Skt. *pāla*).[117] In this case, the protectors are the five golden Buddha images which are thought to be imbedded in the five towers of the *stūpa*. The base of these towers, representing Mount Meru, is then the throne for these imperial protectors. This role of a throne for protectors could then be seen as independent from, and yet coincident with, the metaphor of Vajrāsana, which is also active in this replica. Being a replica of the Mahābodhi temple in Beijing (the center of heaven and earth) may also index the Jingang Baozuo stūpa as center of the Buddhist world.

Given the imagery in these towers and throughout the *stūpa*, these five images were probably those of the five *dhyāni buddha* or *tathāgata*, i.e. the Buddhas of the five directions. The animal imagery is predominantly that of the *vahana* or vehicles

[116] HYDCD: 3-1648a.

[117] Keep in mind the synonymous terms *Si Tianwang* 四天王 and *Sida Jingang* 四大金剛 for the four *lokapāla*, or guardians of the four directions, who are also the guardians of Buddhist (and Daoist) temples [HYDCD 3: 571a, 572a]. The pseudo-Sanskrit term **vajrapāla* [HYDCD 11: 1161a, 1162a] derives from this overlap in meaning, as does the protective qualities ascribed to the Diamond Sūtra (金剛經) in China.

associated with these buddhas: the lion (Vairocana), the elephant (Akṣobhya), the horse (Ratnasambhava), the peacock (Amitabha), and the garuḍa (Amoghasiddhi).[118] Tong therefore regarded the *vajrāsana stūpa* (and not just the Chinese version) as primarily a *stūpa* representing esoteric (*mizong* 密宗) Buddhism, and Vairocana worship. One would be hesitant to ascribe Tong's view to the Ming emperors, but for the fact that this temple was notably associated with Tibetan esoteric Buddhism.[119]

This association raises the issue of whether these were Śāriputra's designs. It is indeed possible, as Śāriputra was a noted teacher of esoteric Buddhism, both in China and Tibet. It has also been noted in the previous chapter that by the fifteenth century, the façade of the Indian Mahābodhi temple was probably quite unintelligible. Thus, the Indian paṇḍita may have used his creative faculties in his plans for a replica. These designs may also have been influenced by the tastes of the Ming emperor. The effect, however, is a reimagining of the original Mahābodhi stūpa and its significance. Not only is it a memorial to the Buddha Śākyamuni's awakening, it also makes a strong statement about the figure responsible for its construction. It is the work of a *cakravartin* (Aśoka), but also a symbol of esoteric Buddhism, whose central figure (Vairocana) symbolizes universal kingship.[120] This further recalls 'Phags pa's tantric consecration of Qubilai as Buddha and *cakravartin.*[121]

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[118] Swart, "The Diamond Seat Pagoda," 31; D. Gellner, "Introduction," in N. Gutschow, *The Nepalese Caitya: 1500 Years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 1997), 13.

[119] Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life*, 209.

[120] The crowned Mahābodhi image of the buddha is also indicative of kingship. In many ways, it is context alone that distinguishes this buddha from Mahāvairocana. In a group of five buddhas, the central crowned buddha can be said to represent

However, this evolution in the concept of universal monarchy does not seem like an innovation or a merging of traditions since its symbol, the Vajrāsana stūpa, is held to be a replica of the original Mahābodhi temple. Yongle, Chenghua, and later Qianlong could build stūpas as pious acts memorializing the Buddha's awakening, extend their kingship lineage back to Aśoka, all in line with esoteric rituals.[122]

As the Chenghua inscription states, the Yongle emperor had started building the Vajrāsana stūpa on the grounds of the Zhenjue temple, but was unable to complete it. His grand scheme for the Zhenjue temple may have been more even elaborate, since he may have intended to create a more complete replica of the Mahābodhi complex there. He was certainly interested in creating scale models of this site.

The Snar thang Models

Mahāvairocana. The depiction of a buddha as the central crowned image of the Mahābodhi temple is Śākyamuni buddha, always in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*. Contexts shift, however, allowing any buddha displaying the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, with or without a crown, to index the Mahābodhi image. Can a Mahābodhi temple without a buddha image also index the Buddha's enlightenment? That is, within the set of possible indicators, is a representation of just the Mahābodhi temple satisfactory? Further, what happens when two contexts collide, that is, when the index of the Buddha's enlightenment (the Mahābodhi temple) are covered with indexes of the five *dhyāna* buddhas? Is this then a temple to Buddha Śākyamuni or Mahāvairocana? With no definitive central image (the central tower of the Jingang Baozuo ta bears reliefs indicating Mahāvairocana as well as *buddhapāda*), the two may be intended to converge.

[121] Indeed, as Ronald Davidson repeatedly points out, "the defining metaphor of the Mantrayāna ritual system is becoming the Universal Ruler [i.e. *cakravartin*]." R.M. Davidson, *Indian Esoteric Buddhism: A Social History of the Tantric Movement*, 330.

[122] All of which lends a new significance to the inscription 中印度之寶座無以異也!

In *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, Heather Stoddard discusses the enigmatic case of the Snar thang scale model of the Bodhgayā complex.[123] A photograph in *Xizang Fojiao yishu*[124] lists this model as *Yindu duojie 'andun zhiyi* (印度多杰暗頓之一)[125], "one of the Indian Vajrāsanas," an engraved model[126] bearing the inscription "bestowed [during] the Yongle years of the Great Ming (1403-1424)"[127] underneath. The artist is unknown, as is the history of its provenance or previous ownership. There are only two modern witnesses to this replica, Liu Yisi and Dge 'dun chos 'phel.

Dge 'dun chos 'phel (1903-1951) remarked on the two replicas of the Mahābodhi complex held in Snar thang monastery, which he visited with Rahul Sanskrityāyan. One was made of black stone, from the Gaya region, and was said to have come from India. The other was made from white sandalwood, and was made in China. He states that it was commissioned by Mchims Nam mkha' grags (1210-1285). This is clearly impossible given the Yongle inscription, and Dge 'dun chos 'phel's lack of supporting data.[128]

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[123] Heather Stoddard [Karmay], *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, (Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd, 1975), 92.

[124] Liu Yisi 劉藝斯, Xizang Fojiao yishu 西藏佛教藝術, (Beijing: Wenwu Chubanshe, 1957), pl. 11.

[125] Stoddard gives the caption of the photograph as 印度多傑安頓之一.

[126] *Diaoke moxing* 雕刻模型.

[127] *Daming Yongle nian shi* 大明永樂年施.

[128] cf. U. von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, (Hong Kong: Visual Dharma Publications, 2001), 1: 323, n. 228; H. Decleer, "An Ornament to Dge 'dun chos 'phel's Intention – the rediscovery of one source to his 'guide': Bcom ldan rig ral's śāstra on Buddhgaya," (unpublished ms), 36 n. 4.

There is an additional problem. In the Yongle inscription, the word translated by Stoddard as "bestowed" (*shi* 施) can also mean "executed, carried out." Therefore, the inscription may record the period during which this replica was crafted or that in which it was given away. Nor is it clear if this replica was bestowed by the Emperor or to the Emperor.

Bearing all this in mind encourages speculation regarding the possibility that Śāriputra was the craftsman behind the Snar thang sandalwood replica.[129] As we know, he brought a model or plan of the Vajrāsana to Beijing, and gave it to the Yongle emperor. He also may have been the only person at that time capable of executing such a model. From his biography, we know that he was abbot of Bodhgayā monastery for three years, and thus familiar with the architectural landscape. As seen above, this landscape changed over time, and the Snar thang models reflect the changes introduced by Pagán (and perhaps Chiang Mai) refurbishments.[130] No Chinese elements are incorporated.

When Śāriputra first came to Bodhgayā, he refurbished at least one shrine, including repainting the icons, indicating familiarity with what the task required.[131]

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[129] This was a guess also made by von Schroeder, who surmised that the gift may have come from the emperor as part of gifts donated to the Snar thang monastery in 1419 and 1423 (*op. cit.*, 322). Given the opportunity, I would do the same for the model constructed of black stone. Dge 'dun chos 'phel states that the two replicas look as if composed by the same person, but this might simply mean they were in rough symmetry with each other, and with the *Lam yig* of Chag lo tsā wa and the description by Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri (1250-1311). The two models are also similar in that their component parts are detachable (and so in disarray at the time of Dge 'dun chos 'phel's visit).

[130] Decleer, "An Ornament to Dge 'dun chos 'phel's Intention," 37 n. 12.

[131] See chapter three.

Further, according to the *Myang chos 'byung*, he brought a design of the Mahābodhi image of Śākyamuṇi to the Dpal 'khor chos sde monastery, which was used to build a replica of that image, so these designs he brought really were architectural plans. Finally, as the Yongle Emperor planned to build at least the Mahābodhi stūpa based on Śāriputra's design, it is possible that he first commissioned a scale replica of the entire Vajrāsana complex. Alternately, it is possible that Śāriputra had made this model before leaving India, and that this represented the gift he gave to Yongle. As all the parts were detachable, they would not have been very awkward to transport.[132] Until further evidence comes to light, Śāriputra stands as the best candidate for the design and execution of at least one of the Snar thang replicas.

This begs the question of why a Mahābodhi replica was never built in Tibet, given that all of Tibet's Buddhist neighbors build these replicas,[133] and also many of

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[132] This begs the question, of course, how did Śāriputra travel? This will be addressed in chapter six.

[133] This is not to say that all these countries built Mahābodhi replicas for the same reason. As noted above, the Nepal Mahābodhi replica was built centuries after the other replicas, perhaps for an entirely different purpose. However, it should be pointed out that for devotees of the Nepal Svayambūcaitya, this *caitya* marks the center of the (religious) world, and is identified as the Adibuddha. Alexander von Rosspatt dates the origins of the *Svayambūpruāṇa* traditions to no earlier than the fifteenth century. Cf. A. von Rospatt, "The Sacred Origins of the Svayambūcaitya," (unpublished ms) 15-16. Therefore, while the fifteenth century did not witness the erection of a Mahābodhi replica in Nepal, it did see the recentering of "the ontological center of Buddhism" to Nepal (defined here as the Newar kingdoms of present-day Nepal) without relying on erstwhile, esoteric conceptions like the vision of Nepal (also utilized in Tibet) as the Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala (von Rospatt, "The Sacred Origins of the Syayambūcaitya," 17, 20, 24-5). We should note too that in the *Svayambūpurāṇa*, Mañjuśrī is represented as coming to the Svayambūcaitya as a pilgrim from his home in China (von Rospatt, *idem*., 18). We can thus understand the world of this text's author(s) to comprise a Buddhism that extends far beyond the Indian borders.

India's holy sites were replicated in Tibet, as Toni Huber has well demonstrated. Huber asks this question himself, and answers that

> This was not because the Tibetans lacked the information to be able to create replicas of Buddhist holy land sites. They certainly possessed various detailed textual descriptions of them and even collected three-dimensional scale models of important sites such as Bodh Gayā. The Tibetans, in fact, did something far more remarkable than their Buddhist neighbors, something that entirely obviated the need for any elaborate local replicas of the sites of the Buddha's life on Tibetan soil. They created a Buddhist holy land replica directly in India itself, at a new location that was of great convenience to them in terms of proximity and access.[134]

Huber's answer to why Tibetans never built a replica Mahābodhi temple is that they had "rediscovered" Kuśinagar in Assam. Aside from the question of why finding Kuśinagar would satisfy someone looking for Vajrāsana, it might be asked if going to India was really the point. Building a replica of the Bodhgayā Mahābodhi temple was not framed in pilgrimage terms by any of the kings discussed above. They fulfilled their *cakravartin* task thereby. The Tibetan reception of the *cakravartin* ideal provides the answer to why there was no large-scale replica of the Mahābodhi temple built in Tibet.

First, it should be noted that there were, in fact, a number of temples considered to be *like* that of Vajrāsana, such as the Ra sa 'phrul snang tsug lag khang, which was considered to be a "second Vajrāsana."[135] This name may have arisen, not only because

[134] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 126.

[135] Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 119, citing *Deb ther sngon po*, I: 627, l. 1 (= Roerich 1976: 530); Bsod nams rgyal mtshan and P. Sørensen, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies: Tibetan Buddhist Historiography: An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle: rGyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-long*, Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 128, (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 483.

it was considered the most important temple in Tibet, containing the Jo bo Śākyamuni in the *bhumisparśa mudra*, recalling the Mahābodhi image,[136] but also because it was constructed during the period of Tibetan empire by one of Tibet's *chos rgyal* (*dharmarāja*) in his imperial capital. These Tibetan *dharmarāja*s saw themselves (or rather, were seen by later historians) as both *bodhisattva*s and lineal descendants of the quintessential *cakravartin*, Aśoka.[137] Thus, this temple also retained the characteristics of other *cakravartin*-built temples discussed in this chapter.

However, this period witnessed the Tibetan empire's collapse, and its rule by local kings or bla mas. While many monasteries may have called themselves "(like) Vajrāsana," no architectural remains indicate that the structures meant to replicate the Mahābodhi temple rather than the site of awakening. As Huber has clearly demonstrated, Tibet abounded in "reinvented" or "rediscovered" Indian holy sites.

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[136] "The Buddha in *bhumisparśa mudra*...became the most common form for a Buddha image during the Pala period. Although it is a specific reference to to Bodhgaya and a symbol of the achievement of Buddhahood, this form seems to have originated elsewhere at an earlier time. Nonetheless, the first place in eastern India where it became prominent is at Bodhgaya. By the tenth century, it had become the most popular form at the site," J. Leoshko, "Introduction," in *Bodhgaya: The Site of Enlightenment*, (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1988), 4. Dung dkar blo bzang phrin las also states that the Mahābodhi image in the upper temple was one and the same as the Lhasa Jo bo: *Lha khang steng 'og gnyis yod pa'i steng ma de'i nang du rang re'i lha sa'i Jo bo sngon bzhugs par grags.* Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, (Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House, 2002), 1159b. For a discussion of this upper temple, see the next chapter.

[137] As we shall see, after the fall of the empire, the blood lineage of Aśoka would have been a fiction impossible to uphold. The claim to being a *bodhisattva*, however, would have been easier to make. For the Tibetan royal lineage stemming from Aśoka via King Dza, cf. Dpa'o Gtsug lag 'phreng ba, *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, ch. ja, 9b-10b [= (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 85-7], which cites the *Kha chems ka khol ma.* Cf. R.A. Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, ed. and trans. Arthur P. McKeown (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 224.

Nevertheless, like China, Tibet saw itself as the center of the (Buddhist) world, especially after it's active relationship with India was effectively broken off. As Dan Martin has demonstrated, for the Bonpo in the twelfth century, Tibet was situated in the center of the eighteen great countries. This recentering was adopted by Tibetan Buddhists by at least the thirteenth century.[138]

The consequences of the *mchod yon* relationship were also influential. Mongolian and Chinese kings declared themselves *cakravartin*s in conjunction with a *buddha-guru* whom they patronized, like Sakya Paṇḍita or 'Phags pa. It would probably have been awkward for these Tibetan clerics to have taken their *gurudakṣiṇā* of the whole of Tibet, and then declared themselves to be *cakravartin*s in their own right, especially if they lived in Beijing. Indeed, after the rise in popularity of the *mchod yon* relationship, the number of Tibetan hierarchs such as the later Fifth Dalai Lama Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, a very clear case of a political ruler, explicitly calling themselves *cakravartin* declines drastically.[139] Concomitant with the decline of the *cakravartin* idiom in Tibet is the growing popularity (though by no means the origin) of the *bodhisattva* metaphor of rulership.

[138] D. Martin, "Tibet At the Center: A Historical Study of Some Tibetan Geographical Conceptions Based on Two Types of Country-Lists Found in Bon Sources," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Fagernes 1992*, (Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, 1994), 532, fig. 9. Cf. L.W.J. van der Kuijp, *The Kālacakra and the Patronage of Tibetan Buddhism by the Mongol Imperial Family*, ed. F. Venturi, *The Central Eurasian Studies Lectures*, v. 4, (Bloomington: Department of Central Eurasian Studies, 2004), 54.

[139] As the Fifth Dalai Lama cited the Tibetan emperor Srong btsan sgam po as a previous incarnation, one might say that his self-identification as a *cakravartin* is implicit.

By working within the structure of the *mchod yon* relationship, powerful clerics could accept their designations as *buddhas* or *bodhisattvas* and then consider Tibet their *'dul zhing* or *zhing khams.*[140] They became Tibet's patron saint, whose joint religious and political rule would leading its inhabitants to an Awakening. Indeed, a seventeenth century tract[141] on the *mchod yon* relationship states that for every Buddha (in this case the Dalai Lamas), a suitable *cakravartin* has also arisen. As the title of this text is "The Code of the *Mchod yon*, Related [like] Sun and Moon[142]," the two participants in this relationship are not necessarily equal. Here, the *buddha* (*mchos gnas*) may be seen as the real authority, and the *cakravartin* (*yon bdag*) is more of a suitable patron. Their self-definition as a *bodhisattva* also impacted the political domain. The historically most important *bodhisattva* in Tibet is Avalokiteśvara, though why that became the case is unclear. Dates for the popularization of this cult and the merging of this deity into the person of Tibet's most important political rulers, such as the Emperor Srong btsan sgam po, the Dalai Lamas and the Karmapas are also unknown. The Chinese multi-armed form of Avalokitśvara holds a golden wheel, which may indicate either the *dharmacakra* of a *buddha* or the *ajñacakra* of a *cakravartin.* This uncertainty reflects the

[140] This may be a particularly Tibetan (or perhaps Sino-Tibetan) understanding of the Sanskrit term *buddhakṣetra.* The earliest extant text naming Avalokiteśvara's *buddhakṣetra* as Tibet (and the Tibetan emperor Srong btsan sgam po as his particular emanation) is the c. 11th century *Bka' chems ka khol ma.* This relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Tibet is also specified in the early *Maṇi bka' 'bum* and the fourteenth-century *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long.*

[141] Ishihama dates it between the end of 1653 and the first month of 1655. See Ishihama Yumiko, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara," *Acta Asiatica* 64 (1993): 40 n. 3.

[142] *Mchod yon nyi zla zung gi khrims yig,* Tōyō Bunko no. 444-2781.

Buddhist belief that Lokanātha was designated as regent of the world, to rule between the time of Gautama and Maitreya, the future *buddha.*[143]

In Tibet, Avalotikeśvara was considered to have both spiritual and temporal power, his cult important since at least the eleventh century, when Avalokiteśvara became known as the progenitor of the Tibetan people.[144] In the biography of the first Dalai Lama Dge 'dun grub, Avalokiteśavara is said to manifest himself as *cakravartins*, lesser monarchs, Indra, Brahma, mendicants, etc.[145] It was, perhaps, inevitable that while the Fifth Dalai Lama propagated the cult of Avalokiteśvara, he included 'Phags pa as one of his manifestations.[146]

As we have seen, the *mchod yon* relationship mattered for the Tibetan and Chinese hierarchs, and their supporters. The relationship generated a more expansive view of what *cakravartins* did, including the construction of a Mahābodhi temple. In this context, entering into the *mchod yon* relationship with a *buddha* was another act of being a *cakravartin.* Despite their self-conscious depictions as *cakravartins* and *buddhas*, the objects of prophecy destined to form these *mchod yon* relationships, these

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[143] Lokanātha became the most popular Bodhisattva in Bengal. R.D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933), 87. From at least the seventh century, his image was found throughout what is now called Burma. See Luce, *Old Burma--Early Pagán*, 191.

[144] P. Sørensen, "The Dalai Lama Institution: Its Origin and Geneological Succession," *Orientations* 36, 6 (2005): 56-57.

[145] Ye shes rtse mo, *Rje thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung nor bu'i phreng ba*, 1494, in *The Collected Works of the First Dalai Lama Dge 'dun grub pa*, v. 6, ff. 1-63a, (Gangtok, 1981), 3b2.

[146] See the biography of the Fourth Dalai Lama Yon tan rgya mtsho, composed by the Fifth Dalai Lama (3b1-3b3). Nga dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (Fifth Dalai Lama), *'Jig rten bdang phyug thams cad mkhyen pa Yon tan rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa nor bu phreng ba*, (1652), ff. 1-52a; Tōyō Bunko no. 95-1057.

relationships were well-considered investments in the economy of symbolic capital. This seems the case with the Fifth Dalai Lama, who may have assumed his status as prophesied imperial preceptor and regent of Tibet, as these were the prerogatives of a *buddha*, bestowed by the *cakravartin*, but there is no question that his self-fashioning was deliberate.[147] The paradigm for this was, we recall, the acts of Qubilai towards 'Phags pa. In fact, we have no evidence other than the writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama that Guši Qaγan ever gave Tibet to the Dalai Lama.[148]

However, the seventeenth-century Fifth Dalai Lama and his milieu are two hundred years after Śāriputra and the early Ming. During Śāriputra's time, the Dge lugs pa sect had yet to become a distinct entity, though its founder, Tsong kha pa, was already seen as an important figure by Yongle.[149] At this time, the Phag mo gru pa were still in power, and Tibet was ruled successfully by Mi dbang Grags pa rgyal mtshan (r. 1385-1432), even though other Tibetan kinglets also vied for power with the Phag mo gru pa. One of those who chafed under the Mi dbang's bit was the Rgyal rtse prince Rab

[147] The above mentioned *Mchod yon nyi zla zung gi khrims yig* (4a5-5b1, 6a4) claims the imperial preceptorship as a right of the Dalai Lama, and that their *cakravartin* counterparts are given authority over Tibet in a manner strikingly similar to the way in which 'Phags pa described Čingghis's ascention (see above). The *Blang dor gsal bar ston pa'i drang thig dwangs shel me long nyer gcig pa* by the Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1681) states that kings must make judgements only after considering the advice of the Dalai Lamas. On the Fifth Dalai Lama's manipulation of prophecy, see R.A. Stein, "Une source ancienne pour l'histoire de l'épopée *tibétaine*, le *Rlaṅs Po-ti bse-ru*," *Journal asiatique* 250 (1962): 77-106.

[148] Ishihama, "On the Dissemination of the Belief in the Dalai Lama as a Manifestation of the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara," 39.

[149] As we shall see in chapter five, one of Śāriputra's main lineage holders and main biographer, Ku cor Rtogs ldan, was to become intimately linked with the founding of this fledgling sect, writing one of the first biographies of Tsong kha pa, and giving rise to one of their most prominent incarnation series.

brtan kun bzang 'phags (b. 1389), into whose court and religious life Śāriputra famously entered before departing for the Ming court. As will be shown, Śāriputra mattered for this prince's political ambitions as he did for the Chinese emperors, in terms of geographical citation.

This period also saw the rise of a number of new religious sects, of which the future Dge lugs pa were perhaps the most successful. Many of these new lineages intersected with the life of Śāriputra, including the order based in Gnas rnying near Rgyal rtse and the order founded by the great polymath Bo dong Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1376-1451). Another supposed emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the culture hero Thang stong rgyal po (1385-1464) was active during this period. This effervescent religious environment facilitated Śāriputra's influence among Tibetan religious leaders. Yet that influence – sometimes great, sometimes negligible – did not produce in Tibet replicas of the Mahābodhi temple like those in Southeast Asia and China.

And what about the later Mongols? They too considered the Beijing Mahābodhi temple an important site, perhaps more directly reminiscent of Qubilai's reign than for Yongle's. According to the "History of Buddhism in Mongolia" (*Hor chos 'byung*), this stūpa, called *mchod rten rtse lnga* ("five peaked stūpa") was built by 'Phags pa.[150] In some ways, then, the lost reliquary stūpa of 'Phags pa may have been recovered in Mongol recollections of the Vajrāsana *stūpa*. Yet we cannot even say if this *stūpa* indexed India for Dharmātala, since the name he gave it implied nothing about Vajrāsana. He may have simply translated this *stūpa*'s common Chinese moniker *wuta si* 五塔寺, but the

[150] Dharmatāla, *Chen po hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa Padma dkar po'i 'phreng ba*, 506 [= Klafkowski, trans., *Rosary of White Lotuses*, 420].

usual Tibetan equivalent for this is *mchod rten lnga'i lha khang* (the temple of five stūpas).[151] *Mchod rten rtse lnga* would translate into Chinese more properly as *Wutai Si 五臺寺. This name rather recalls the mountain so important in this Mongol history, Wutai Shan 五臺山 or *ri bo rtse lnga* (five peaked mountain). The question whether for some Mongols this *stūpa* brought a mountain to Beijing instead of a Vajrāsana is thus far unanswerable.

* * *

The Tibetan example demonstrates that the building of Mahābodhi replicas was by no means inevitable, nor did it represent a pan-Asian or pan-Buddhist phenomenon. The case studies of Southeast Asia and China presented, defining the requirements for the building of a Mahābodhi replica, show that Tibet too would have met most of them: it had a tradition of presenting itself as the center of the world, there was religious reinvigoration and reformation, and there were new hierarchs who promoted their legitimacy in a Buddhist idiom. Tibet may have lacked a new centralizing authority in an urban center along the lines of the Chinese imperium, but there were multiple centers vying for power along the lines of the Chiang Mai and Sukhothai kingdoms.

Using the Mahābodhi replicas as an object of inquiry, these chapters showed that the Pagan, Mon and Chiang Mai kingdoms which built Mahābodhi replicas did so for many of the same general reasons as the Emperors of China: such replicas turned their kingdoms into exemplary centers, and them into *cakravartin* rulers. These

[151] Interestingly, Zhenjue si 正觉寺 is given the Tibetan equivalent of *mchod rtse lngs'i lha khang* in Huang Hao 黄颢, 在北京的藏族文物 *Zai Beijing de zangzu wenwu*, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1993), 25.

monuments indexed the quintessential acts of Buddhist kingship, typified by Aśoka. They were not necessarily monuments to the past, a "retreat into a fake history," as replicas are often viewed by modern scholarship.[152] Their sponsors were not trying to reverse the present or celebrate its remove from the Aśokan ideal. These monuments represented part of a reenactment of that very ideal.

The examination of both contexts culminates with the building of a Mahābodhi replica, but as has been shown, the particular evolution of the *cakravartin* ideology that produced these monuments was very different. This had much to do with the unique historical contexts of the particular kingdoms. In the Mon and Thai kingdoms, Dammacetti and Tilokarāja were looking back to Aśoka via Kyanzittha. They also merged both the religious and political aspects of their kingships in their royal persona. They were patrons of the *saṅgha*, but they were in many senses both *buddha* and *cakravartin*, as both took ordination before or during their reigns. It seems that for Dammaceti, and certainly for Tilokarāja, the idiom of the Buddhist Council mattered, like the building of a Mahābodhi replica, regarded as the defining acts of aN (Aśokan) *cakravartin* kingship. Both acts bound the prestige or symbolic capital of the king to a particular location, at the Aśokan capital of Pāṭaliputra or Tilokarāja's capital of Chiang Mai, on the grounds of the Mahābodhārāma.

The ideational background of the Chinese Mahābodhi replica was different, yet the citational importance of its location was likewise powerful. While the Jingang Baozuo *stūpa* indexed Aśoka and the Mahābodhi temple, it also geographically

[152] Wim Denslagen, "Introduction," n *Architectural Imitations: Reproductions and Pastiches in East and West*, 1.

represented the non-Buddhist idea that Beijing was the center of heaven and earth. This obviously corresponded to the Buddhist notion that *vajrāsana* was the center of the world. By its particular site, this *stūpa* also recalled the estate Qubilai has given to 'Phags pa, an act Yongle replicated by giving this residence to Śāriputra. Again, Yongle invested his symbolic capital in this site, because the power of this locus to cite historical antecedents made the investment worthwile.

CONCLUSION: WAS THERE NO MAHĀBODHI TEMPLE BUILT IN TIBET?

Recall the example of the Ra sa phrul snang Gtsug lag khang, deemed to be a second Vajrāsana. As stated before, this site accords with all the others in East and Southeast Asia in terms of its links to a *cakravartin* (Srong brtsan sgam po), an urban center (Lha sa), etc. In addition, there was the presence of the Jobo Śākyamuni and Jobo Mi bskyod rdo rje (at alternate periods). Both images are in the *bhumisparśa mūdra*, which recalls the Mahābodhi image. Indeed, there is a vigorous tradition that the Jobo was one of the the original Mahābodhi images, brought from Vajrāsana.[153] This system of correlations (*cakravartin*, urban center, religious patronage/reform) was also present in the Rgyal rtse monastery built by Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags. In this case, there is a tradition of one Jobo statue being replicated from a mold taken of the Lhasa Jobo, as

[153] Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las describes the Lhasa Jobo as originally being seated in the upper story of the Mahābodhi temple. *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1159: *lha khang steng 'og gnyis yod pa'i steng ma de'i nang du rang re'i lha sa'i jo bo sngon bzhugs par grags.* The biography of Chag lo tsā ba also seems to reflect an opinion that a Mahābodhi image was in Tibet, and that the throne was now used to hold stone impressions of the Buddha's footprints. Roerich, *Biography of* Dharmasvāmin, 13-4 (= 13b): *Bod 'phrul snang gi shākya mu ne'i bshugs khri rdo ba la bcom ldan 'das kyi shabs rjes gnyis*; trans., 65: "The two foot-prints of the Blessed One on the empty stone throne of Śākyamuni of the 'Phrul-snaṅ Temple of Tibet."

well as one Mahābodhi image based on a drawing brought by Śāriputra during his visit to the Myang valley.[154] The building of the Rgyal rtse *stūpa* may have been another attempt to shape Rgyal rtse into a sacred center along the lines of a "second Vajrāsana."

The Rgyal rtse of Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags represents only one early example. Other Tibetan sites contested for title of "second Vajrāsana," such as the 'Brug pa bka' brgyud seat at Rwa lung (the main temple of Stag lung), Gong dkar rdo rje gdan (the main temple of 'Bri gung), and Rta nag rdo rje gdan (the main temple of Sa skya).[155] Lhasa can be seen to have secured this title for itself to a certain extent, but this was by no means inevitable. Indeed it required a great deal of determined effort by people such as the Fifth Dalai Lama, who in many ways can be seen to have shaped the sacred geography of this city. Eventually Lhasa did come to be viewed sometimes as a maṇḍala in the center of the world, sometimes as the central axis (*yaṣṭi, srog shing*) of Tibet, with the Lha sa 'phrul snang jo bo khang at its center.[156]

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[154] 'Jigs med grags pa, *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, (Xining: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987 [1481]), 67ff [ISMEO ed., 159-67]. In *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, Lo Bue mentions the mold of the Lhasa Jobo (23) as well as the simulacra of the Mahābodhi image (21, 302). Interestingly, if the previous note is correct, these two images form a set whose origins are both at the Mahābodhi temple. See F. Ricca and E. Lo Bue, *The Great Stupa of Gyantse: A Complete Tibetan Pantheon of the Fifteenth Century*, (London: Serindia, 1993).

[155] As we will see during our discussion of Śāriputra's disciples, many of these monasteries had links with this late Indian representative of Vajrāsana.

[156] See P. Sørensen, "Lhasa Diluvium: Sacred Environment at Stake," *Lungta* 16 (2003): 87-90. In his interpretation of Lhasa as a sacred center, Sørensen makes use of both Eliade's *Cosmos and History: The Myth of the Eternal Return* and Wheatley's *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*. For an important corrective to certain aspects of the idea of a sacred Center, see J.Z. Smith, "The Wobbling Pivot"; also, J.Z. Smith, "Map is not Territory," in *Map is not Territory*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 289-310.

However, neither the Lhasa temple housing the Jobo image, nor the Rgyal rtse monastery look anything like the Mahābodhi temple. This by itself provides no evidence that Mahābodhi replicas were absent from Tibet. Rather, it raises the issue of physical similitude. Answering this question for Tibet then has repercussions for other Buddhist Asian replicas, for while much discussion has been made, and presented here, on the level of specific architectural correlations between the Vajrāsana complex in India and its imitators elsewhere, the problem is that the replicas of the Mahābodhi temple are similar to their originator in only a general sense.

Replication as a system of equivalence needs to be divided into two categories: equivalence of terms and equivalence of relations. This distinction comes from the work of J.Z. Smith on the "rediscovery" or "reinvention" of Jerusalem, providing a theoretically insightful categorization and explanation of Mahābodhi replicas.[157] In this system, large-scale replicas would not be required to be exact replicas since they reproduced a similar set of relations to those involving the Mahābodhi temple. As we have seen, these relations are to (*cakravartin*) kingship and Buddha figure, temple and citadel. Srong brtsan sgam po and Rab brtan Kun bzang 'pags fulfilled this role of Buddhist *cakravartin* as well as Tīlokarāja, Qubilai, or Yongle. The (living) Mahābodhi images in the Lhasa Gtsug lag khang and Dpal 'khor chos sde monasteries were Buddhas as surely as the emerald Buddha in the Mahābodharama. These material images found

[157] J.Z. Smith, *To Take Place: Toward Theory in Ritual*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). In particular page 87 for the scheme of equivalences. It is astounding that the rich literature exploring the various reinventions of Jerusalem have not been drawn upon for the study of the reinvention of Buddhist holy lands. Certainly, the reverse is not true, as studies of Indian temples and their attendant activities have influenced the study of Near Eastern religious monuments.

their equivalences in Beijing in the living Buddhas 'Phags pa and Śāriputra.[158] All were in urban centers, and thus were the relational equivalences of the Vajrāsana, particularly as associated with Aśoka.

In the fifteenth century replicas, the relations to Aśoka and the Mahābodhi temple were mediated by other predecessors from within their respective empires. The Mahābodhi replica of the new Yongle emperor recalled the system of relations erected by Qubilai (who for his part also referenced Čingghis Qaɣan). The new emperor Tīlokarāja referenced Aśoka by way of Kyanzittha, and Rab brtan Kun bzang 'phags's replication of the Aśokan Vajrāsana was mediated by Srong brtsan sgam po.

Separated from its network of relations, replication would imply an equivalence of terms. Small-scale replicas fall into this category, such as the Snar thang model and the host of less intricate replicas found throughout the Buddhist world. Here also, exact similitude is not necessary, though it is obviously more important than for a term within an equivalence of relations. In addition, pilgrimage routes replicated on a small scale would belong in this category, much like the stations of the cross in a church. These Mahābodhi replicas functioned in a similar way to small-scale replicas of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were not meant to recreate the system of relations involving the Holy Sepulchre and the rest of Jerusalem, or between the Church and the King. They were simply, and perhaps hopefully, meant to have a symbolic efficacy similar to a single term from the holy land.

[158] Śāriputra serves as the figure of Buddha both alive and dead, as his relics are encased both in the Mahābodhi replicas in Beijing and Wutai Shan.

J.Z. Smith noted that, despite typological equivalences between Holy Sepulchre replicas, no one would be fooled into mistaking a replica for the original. Obviously, thus is the case for small-scale replicas, but large-scale replicas were different. They form part of a complex recreation of the system of relations found in their precursor. This system is itself not a replication, but a recreation, as Geertz's discussion of the Balinese *negara* has born out. As we shall see in the exoteric biography of Śāriputra, the "second Vajrāsana" that he sees is explained to be equivalent to, but better than, the one he is familiar with in India. In this we can see that an equivalence of terms is a static representation. No *buddhapāda* will be better than the Buddha whose footprints they are. Contrariwise, an equivalence of relations is dynamic, since it recreates a network which may function better or worse than the previous network.

These two categories of equivalence are critical to the analysis of Śāriputra's biographies and how they relate to his building activities. There is a sense of repetition in his actions, but also a sense of recreating systems of relations. Śāriputra is not restricted to attempting to rebuild the Mahābodhi temple in India, but can recreate the hierarchy in which this temple is involved in other location. We must, however, note that he cannot do this anywhere. To replicate the Mahābodhi temple in the middle of nowhere would represent an equivalence of terms. To recreate the equivalence of relations enjoyed by the Mahābodhi temple requires the other relational terms to be present as well.

This is not to state that there is a set of terms, all of which must be met to sarisfy this equivalence of relations. Rather, there is a set of relational terms, most of

which need to be satisfied. Any one system can lack one or two terms and still be classified within the same category.

* * *

In these two chapters, it was not difficult to keep the context of the different Mahābodhi replicas apart, as they were separated by vast distances. The next part will deal with another set of traces that Śāriputra left behind, literary traces. These are his three Tibetan biographies, that can be compared to each other to discover a common set of "requirements" for Śāriputra himself. However, as will be shown, the Śāriputras constructed in these biographies are like the Mahābodhi replicas. They may all index the same thing, but employ different methods, and need to be situated in their unique historical and geographical contexts. Śāriputra was able to influence Chinese architecture through his own understanding of the traditional symbolism of the Mahābodhi temple in order to create a new, tantra-inspired Beijing replica. In a similar manner, Śaariputra manipulates the common tropes of Indo-Tibetan biography to highlight his own sense of exile from Buddhist India. Just as he recreated Vajrāsana in Tibet and China via architectural symbols, his biographies use literary symbols towards the same end. With a Mahābodhi replica, he could only recreate the Buddhist center; using literature, he can map whole Indian Buddhist landscapes onto Tibet, yet the geographies Śāriputra creates are filled with the trauma of exile.

Part II: The Biographies

Exile is a kind of living apart, a feeling of being limitless like a man without body or emotion, anonymous and without biography.

-- H. Tizon,
Experiencia y lenguaje

Introduction:

While much has been said about the demise of Buddhism in India, one question seems to have been overlooked, that being: where did all the Buddhists go? If the line of thought starting perhaps with Alexander Cunningham – which was discussed in the introduction – is correct, that the Buddhist philosophy became defunct, then perhaps the erstwhile lay adherents to Buddhism simply converted *en masse* to Islam or one of the brahmanical schools. If it is true that the Muslim invasion or militant Hindu kings killed the Indian Buddhists or forced them to convert, was their "success" rate one hundred percent? In short, was there a Buddhist exile community, and did they leave behind any account of their existence?

The last two chapters explored the possibility of exile from a religious center in a country to which one had never belonged, a sort of non-mobile exile community. In this case, Buddhists in Southeast- and East-Asia viewed Vajrāsana as the center of their religious world, which was located in a land to which they were not linked by anything other than religion. The phenomena of replicating the Vajrāsana site may have had the effect of repatriating Buddhist Holy Land to their own countries.

The reverse scenario appears in the biographies of Śāriputra. He was born in the Buddhist Holy Land, traveled to its very center, and became abbot of the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi temple. In his *Complete Biography*, Śāriputra realizes that the Holy Land has left India, or rather there is another, better, Vajrāsana in the North. When he leaves India, it is unclear if he is going into exile, or trying to repatriate

himself into the moving Holy Land. As this manuscript is heavily autobiographical, it may be describing Śāriputra's actual experience of geographical and religious exile.

The problem for historians of Late Indian Buddhism or Late Medieval Buddhism in a pan-Asian context is that we do not have any record of Indian exile societies for comparison. We have no histories or graves that reflect the questioning indicated by Enseng Ho as being characteristic of a diaspora society.[1] Neither the acknowledgement of absence nor the planning of return can be found as there are no extant sources witnessing what we might term the Indian Buddhist Diaspora, considered as an emigrant society based on exile.

Older theories that mobility represents a characteristic trait of Western societies cannot solve this problem, as Buddhist societies, and the Buddhist religion(s), were highly mobile. The same holds true for Indian societies, Buddhist, Brahmanical or Muslim. The Silk Route and the Dunhuang caves attest to the religious and economic pathways that connected India, Central Asia, and China.[2] Between India, Nepal and Tibet were the salt trade routes, as well as religious and artistic exchange instantiated by the large Newar and other non-indigenous populations in Central Tibet, and the Tibetan abbots of Indian monasteries. Brahman priests still crown the Buddhist kings of Thailand. Yet from extant

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[1] E. Ho, *The Graves of Tarim: Genealogy and Mobility across the Indian Ocean*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). There is a great deal of evidence that Indian Buddhists left India in large numbers for Nepal, Southeast- and Central-Asia. They left their mark in the form of Buddhist manuscripts, but there is little trace of them as a self-reflective exile community. This is the lacuna that Śāriputra's biographies begin to fill.
[2] Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy and Trade*, 34-44.

historical sources, none of this could be considered as exile. Certainly, none of it dates from the time of Buddhism's supposed demise in India, a time one would expect to find traces of an exile society.

The historical record does reveal the traces of specific religious figures from this period. While these accounts concern individuals, not societies, these individuals cannot be presumed to ignore the questions of an exile society: the questions of absence and its chronology. In these chapter, we will explore the biographies of one of these exile characters, Śāriputra, occasionally looking at the biography of his near contemporary, Vanaratna. While other late Indian Buddhist travelers were noted in the Introduction, their lives were not recorded in detail. The biographies of Śāriputra and Vanaratna represent the only substantial, native witnesses to the late decline of Buddhism in India – whose biographies are extant – and so the only testaments to possible Indian Buddhist exiles. Thus it is important to look at their traces together. However, a thorough comparison of these two figures and their biographies must wait for a separate study.[3]

In part, what we shall see in these biographies is a reinvention of the Buddhist world. In these biographies, we will see how both time and space can be lost, elided, expanded, reversed, or their borders rendered unstable. I will maintain that this instability or chaos is a distinctive feature of Śāriputra's experience of exile, especially religious exile.

[3] This is the subject of a future publication.

WITNESSES

Śāriputra has three distinct biographies, which have little to no overlap with each other. Since the first, "complete," biography is represented by a partial manuscript, we will have to wait until the entire manuscript is available before making any final decisions about the relations of the three manuscripts to each other. In this chapter, after a brief description of the three manuscripts available to us, we will discuss the contents of each biography. Editions and translations of the three biographies are included in the appendices.

Of the three manuscripts, two seem to fall quite clearly into standard genres of Tibetan biographical writing: the outer biography and the secret biography. These two genres are often mediated by a third, the inner biography. The outer or exoteric biography is generally concerned with details of outwardly observable phenomena, portraying the subject in a humble light. The inner and secret biographies are made up of more visionary accounts of meditative experiences, often portraying the subject as quite bold.[4] The third biography is more of a lineage history.

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[4] See J. Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self: the Secret Autobiographies of a Tibetan Visionary*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998). Writing about the secret autobiographies of 'Jigs med gling pa (1729/30-1789), "They are far more bold about who he is than is the outer autobiography, which is usually circumspect and humble" (7). These distinctions are true for 'Jigs med gling pa, but certainly not for all people, as Gyatso notes: "In practice it is often difficult to discern a real difference between these varying versions of a life" (103). Outer biographies can seem episodic, lacking thematic continuity or reflection. Inner biographies may seem to "heap vision upon vision," also seemingly without "unity of direction" (109). For Gyatso, it is retrospection that brings out the sense of self in a biographical account. As we will see, Śāriputra's biographies are similarly episodic, whether in terms of objective or visionary events, and it is by finding the links between the episodes that we unearth critical aspects of Śāriputra's persona.

There is an element specific to Śāriputra which links his outer and secret biographies, that of his experience of exile. The fact that this element is missing from his third biography demonstrates to a certain extent the degree to which Śāriputra was slowly being written out of his own history. Further, I will argue that Śāriputra's biographies can be profitably read against the biography of his contemporary and compatriot, Vanaratna. Indeed, when the biographies of these two figures are read in light of each other, and separated from other Tibetan biographies, travel literature, and biographies of earlier Indians written by Tibetans, they can be seen to share this characteristic of exile. This despite the fact that the two travelers have biographies written in very different styles and by seemingly very different authors.

The Manuscripts

Of the four extant biographies of Śāriputra, three are in Tibetan, and one in Chinese. Chapter three, four, and five will study the Tibetan language *Complete Biography*, *Secret Biography*, and *Rosary of Jewels*, respectively. The Chinese biography will be analyzed as part of chapter six.

Physical Description of the Tibetan Biographies

All three Tibetan language biographies are written in the *dbu med* script. Twelve folio pages of the *Complete Biography* are available, with six lines of writing per folio side. The marginalia is extensive, indicating a work in progress. It is written in a corrupt hand, with non-standard spelling.

The *Secret Biography* is written in folio pages, with seven lines per folio side. There is no marginalia. Spelling and orthography are standard. The handwriting and physical composition (seven lines per folio side) is nearly identical to that of the *siddha* biographies composed by Śāriputra[5], and translated by his Tibetan student Jñānaśrī. This may indicate a common scribe for both manuscripts, if not a common author, Jñānaśrī. The origin of the *Complete Biography* and the *Secret Biography* is unclear. Both are unique, and bear the stamp of the China Nationalities Library of Cultural Palace of Nationalities.

The *Rosary of Jewels* is four folios long, with eight lines of writing per folio side on good quality paper, which seems to have suffered slight water damage. The marginalia is minimal. Like the *Secret Biography*, the spelling is standard for Tibetan works. While there are variant spelling, it is not excessive to the degree of the *Complete Biography*. The handwriting of the *Rosary of Jewels* is unlike that of the other manuscripts. I found this manuscript in the Tibetan archive of the Xibei Minzu Daxue in Lanzhou, Gansu province, China. As noted in chapter five, a manuscript of similar title and authorship is also found in the catalog of works of 'Bras spungs monastery in Lhasa.

Dating and Authorship of the Manuscripts

We cannot determine with any accuracy the dating of the three manuscripts in relation to each other. As stated before, the *Complete Biography* is incomplete, and

[5] The *siddha* biographies are written in six folios, and appear in an appendix to this study.

therefore lacks a colophon. The *Secret Biography*, while complete, does not contain an informative colophon. Finally, the *Rosary of Jewels* is the only biography to report its authorship, by Ku cor Rtogs ldan Sangs rgyas dpal bzang po (1386-1445)[6], about whom more will be said later.

From the condition of the three manuscripts, I would venture to guess that the *Complete* (or exoteric) *Biography* antedates the others, and was probably composed in Śāriputra's lifetime. Judging from the copious marginalia, the many variant spellings and corrupt writing style, I would guess that it was a first draft of his biography, perhaps dictated, if not written, by Śāriputra himself.

There is every reason to believe that Śāriputra had a hand in the composition of at least the *Complete Biography.* As will be seen, Śāriputra spent an extended amount of time in Tibet, and learned Tibetan sufficiently well to auto-translate (*rang 'gyur*) a short ritual text, which was added to the Peking, Snar thang, and Golden Manuscript editions of the Bstan 'gyur. Attributing authorship of the *Complete Biography* to Śāriputra would go a long way in explaining the inconsistent spelling and corrupt orthography of this manuscript. While the spelling is poor, and the author often makes minor grammatical mistakes, there seems to be no question that he has a clear idea of what he wants to express, and often does so with startling grammatical precision.

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[6] Dates in A.I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, (Calcutta: Indian Studies, Past & Present, 1970), 192 n. 562; also, P.K. Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plane: Ecclesiastic and Secular Hegemony in Medieval Tibet, A Study of Tshal Gung-thang*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 203 n. 516.

The *Secret Biography* does not contain an authorial statement. Yet, like the *Complete Biography*, there is evidence that it is autobiographical. In the colophon to this text, the author describes the narrative as a finished version of the secret biography Śāriputra had written. The compiler or editor of these narrative episodes may have been Śāriputra's disciple Jñānaśrī. As stated above, the handwriting of the *Secret Biography* is nearly identical to that of the *siddha* biographies. The colophons to the latter biographies state that they were dictated by Śāriputra, and translated by Jñānaśrī. Mnga' ris Lo tsā ba Jñānaśrī is one of the few identifiable figures in the *Secret Biography*. He is given credit for translating the Cakrasaṃvara episode and may very well have pieced together the rest of the *Secret Biography*. It is possible that the *siddha* biographies and the Śāriputra's *Secret Biography* form a set of lineage biographies for his *nātha* teachings.[7] Further, much of the language of the *Secret Biography* reproduces that of the *Complete Biography*, as will be noted.

Finally, there is a piece of evidence from the *siddha* biographies which may shed light on the dating of the *Secret Biography*. The handwriting of both manuscripts is nearly identical, which may indicate the same scribe, if not the same author. The colophon to the final *siddha* biography ends with a sentence written in a good quality Bhujimol ("hooked") script. This may indicate Śāriputra's source language, or an Indic script with which the scribe was familiar. As Bhujimol was

[7] The fact that Śāriputra gave teachings associated with Gorakṣanātha is recorded in a biography of Byang bdag, and is here discussed in chapter six. In the colophon to the *Secret Biography*, the narrator states that Śāriputra used the mahāsiddhas as teaching examples. The biographies of Virūpakṣa and Gorakṣanātha may be evidence of this.

current in fourteenth to sixteenth century Nepal and neighboring areas in India, this manuscript – and likely the *Secret Biography* as well – must also be dated to this period. This line of Bhujimol may come from the hand of either Śāriputra himself or another who trained in Sanskrit in Nepal, which may indicate Jñānaśrī. In either case, the manuscript can be tentatively dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, perhaps 1403-1414, the approximate dates Śāriputra was in Tibet.

While the Śāriputra constructed by the *Rosary of Jewels* endures for centuries in the canonical Tibetan histories, such as the *Deb ther sngon po* and the *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, the Śāriputra of the *Complete* and *Secret* biographies disappears almost immediately. Therefore, it seems likely that these two biographies were composed in the same historical milieu by the same textual community, which was temporally close to Śāriputra himself, and which was different from the textual community surrounding the *Rosary of Jewels.*

The esoteric and exoteric biographies make liberal use of supposedly direct quotations from Śāriputra himself. Therefore, when I analyze these biographies, I will often refer to the Sanskrit equivalents to some of the particular words used, sometimes judging possible meanings based on the Sanskrit terminology when the Tibetan seems obscure. I feel justified in doing this as the source of these quotations is one who had received a monastic education in Sanskrit. While it is possible that he worked in collaboration with a translator such as Jñānaśrī, who translated his biographies of three *siddhas*, his source language was Sanskrit or Sanskritic, and the addition of some Sanskrit terminological equivalents can only add to the interest of these biographies.

Since it seems that these first two biographies are at least partly autobiographical, the studies in chapters three and four will treat the sentiments portrayed in these biographies as Śāriputra's own, and not that of another person representing the persona of Śāriputra. This does not mean that all the statements in these biographies should be taken as historically accurate, since even if it could be proven that Śāriputra wrote them, we would still have to allow for the possibility that he was writing for literary effect rather than composing the annals of his life. Further, given that little evidence of Indian biographical composition is available, the possibility of one Indian being so comfortable in this genre may strike one as improbable. However, the biographies of the Indian Mahāsiddhas had a deep impact of Śāriputra, as revealed at the end of the *Secret Biography*, and his compositions of the biographies of Virūpa, Goraknātha, and Golenātha draw heavily from this genre. It may be that there was not such a great leap between relating these sorts of biographies and composing his own. The method of analyzing these biographies contrasts with the treatment of the *Rosary of Jewels* in chapter five.

The *Rosary of Jewels* seems to be the last biography composed. This judgment is made based more on its contents. First, it states that after Śāriputra met Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen and transmitted the *Mi tra khrid drug*, he left for China. The other two biographies are open-ended, stating that they are incomplete records, with no indication that Śāriputra was leaving Tibet. Second, this biography gives the sense that a lineage is being constructed. This not only means that it should be later than the others on the grounds that Ku cor Rtogs ldan, Śāriputra's "grand-disciple" wrote this biography, while Jñānaśrī, Śāriputra's disciple, probably at least had a

hand in writing the others. The *Rosary of Jewels* should be considered later because it represents Śāriputra more as an institution than an individual. That is, in the *Exoteric Biography* and the *Esoteric Biography*, Śāriputra seems to have his own voice, commenting on his emotional states and confusing experiences. The *Rosary of Jewels*, in contrast, represents Śāriputra more or less as an experienced holder of the Mitrayogin lineage from the beginning. He has no interior monologue, no ambivalences. He confidently receives teachings from enlightened beings, and transmits teachings to the less fortunate.

The biography *Rosary of Jewels* also physically precedes a biography of Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, who was Śāriputra's disciple and one of Ku cor Rtogs ldan's main teachers. Therefore, this biography of Śāriputra seems to be part of a lineage history, albeit a short one (with only two members before the author himself). I judge the actual manuscript to have been written in the lifetime of Ku cor Rtogs ldan, or very shortly thereafter. The reason for this is that very shortly after Śāriputra left Tibet, the details of his life seem to have been largely forgotten. In particular, the lineage he is credited with bringing to Tibet, the *Mitra khrid drug* (sometimes, *chos drug*), elides him from one lineage history, which then is passed from Mitrayogin to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, and thence to Ku cor Rtogs ldan himself.[8]

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[8] See the biography of Ku cor Rtogs ldan in *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, Gangs can rig mdzod 35, (Lhasa: Bod ljong bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2001), 5. This work is not a history of the *Mitra khrid drug* lineage, but of the Tibetan 'Phags pa lha incarnation series, for which the *Mitra khrid drug* seemed to be particularly important.

Despite the specifics of his life being forgotten, Śāriputra must have been seen as quite important while he stayed in Tibet, given that three biographies of him were written which were distinct enough so as to suggest that at least two textual communities were interested in preserving his name.[9] In addition, he and his relationship to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen are recorded in two of the canonical histories of Tibet, the fifteenth-century *Deb ther sngon po* and the sixteenth-century *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston.* Śāriputra's relationship to Jñānaśrī seems to have fallen completely from the historical record.

The Biographies

These biographies reveal the different methods Śāriputra employed to cope with the evident disappearance of Buddhism in India. These methods included retreat into an inner world in which either all the holy sites of Buddhist pilgrimage – indeed, the entire world – could be located within the individual, or a world in which location itself became an irrelevant concept, a world of visionary experience without anchors in the physical world. Another strategy seems to take the opposite approach, in which the Buddhist world is recentered. That is, instead of the traditional *axis mundi*, Vajrāsana, being located in Bodhgayā, multiple centers become possible, such as in Tibet. From the last chapter, we know that – for Chinese Buddhists – Beijing may have been another possible site at which to center

[9] Describing the history of the culture of the book in Tibet, Kurtis Schaeffer states, "A physical instantiation of learned culture and tradition, the book serves as a principal point for debating culture." K. Schaeffer, *The Culture of the Book in Tibet*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), viii.

Buddhism. Both these methods demonstrate Śāriputra's seeming need to reconfigure, for himself at least, the Buddhist world. Sometimes it is recentered at another Vajrāsana, sometimes inscribed within the human body, sometimes removed to a visionary landscape.

What we must come to terms with in these chapters is the relationship between these different methodologies and Śāriputra's seeming obsession with the Vajrāsana site. We might contrast this with the larger Buddhist world's apparent comfort with multiple centers, such as Svayambhūnātha, Lumbinī, Beijing, etc. Does Śāriputra break from the rest of the Buddhist world due to his clinging to Vajrāsana, or does the example of Śāriputra reveal the problematics inherent in the term "Buddhist world" used to denote a monolithic "Buddhist" style of thought? That is, would someone who viewed Svayambhūnātha as the *axis mundi* also be comfortable seeing Beijing or Lumbinī as other centers? Further, while Śāriputra certainly focuses on Vajrāsana, he is comfortable recreating this site in other places, as he does in Beijing, and his biography reveals another Vajrāsana in Tibet. As discussed in the last chapter, the Beijing Vajrāsana may serve as an index of the Bodhgayā Vajrāsana, or the monument there may serve as a sort of *point de capiton* fusing the centers located in Beijing and Bodhgayā. The Tibetan Vajrāsana is clearly not an index, but an actual second center. The revelation that such a site exists is no less strange to us than it is to Śāriputra himself. It is by comparing the literary information from Śāriputra's biographies with the architectural information from his life in Beijing that we may start to understand Śāriputra's relationship with the concept of Vajrāsana, and the concept held by those he interacted with.

CHAPTER THREE

A COMPLETELY ORDINARY BIOGRAPHY

The first of the biographies is entitled *The Complete Ordinary Biography of Śāriputra*. While only the first section is available at this time, it is already the largest of the three biographies, at twelve folio pages. Given that at the end of the fragment, Śāriputra has perhaps not yet reached Tibet, we could safely conjecture that a complete manuscript would be at least twice the length of the one we have at our disposal. The manuscript is characterized by repetition, revision, extensive glosses, and marginalia serving to fill out some episodes and add others. The spelling and orthography have been noted already. In short, it has all the marks of an unedited draft copy.[10]

ŚĀRIPUTRA'S BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

We don't know much about where Śāriputra was born. His ordinary biography simply states that he was born "East of Vajrāsana." Given that Vajrāsana denoted the center of the world, this was quite a general designation, like "east of the Mississippi." This general direction also characterized Vanaratna's birthplace, but his biography further specifies that he was born a three month walk to the east of

[10] However, I will make the case that the marginal notes are used as a rhetorical device to a singular purpose.

Vajrāsana.[11] Vanaratna's place of birth is thought to be the Cittagong district in Bengal, placing him among the Tibeto-Burman Chakma people.[12] Śāriputra may have the same ethnicity, if Lcag ma is the Tibetan rendering of Chakma. Yet, the biography clearly states that Lcag ma is a place name, not an ethnicity.

Within the country of Lcag ma, Śāriputra's birthplace was a city called Piribīranagāra, or simply Piribī. It seems odd that the city's name would be given in phonetics, whereas the country name seems to be a Tibetan word.[13] In Śāriputra's Chinese biography, no city of birth is given, but the country name is roughly equivalent, Yintu Zangema 印土拶葛麻 ("Indian Zangema"). It is by comparing the Tibetan and Chinese phoneticizations that we may be able to identify the Indian name for Śāriputra's place of birth. The city of birth sounds close to that of

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[11] 'Gos Lo tsā ba, *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam thar*, 3b2-3.

[12] The history and adoption of the designation "Chakma" is unclear. According to S.P. Talukdar, the pronunciation is also not obvious, being closer to "Sawngma" or "Changma." Therefore, more research needs to be done before identifying Lcag ma with Chakma. See S.P. Talukdar, *Chakmas: An Embattled Tribe*, (Delhi: Uppal Publishing House, 1994), 3-4.

[13] The Tibetan word *lcag* has at least three Sanskrit equivalents: *pratodaḥ*, *kaśaḥ* and *kaśā*. Negi lists *kaśā* as most common, cf. J.S. Negi, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, (Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1993), 1155. It may be that the author is indicating the *kaśā* by appending the feminine ending *ma*. It may also be the case that *lcag ma* is indeed a phoneticization of an Indian place name. In this regard, it is important to note that the biography entitled *Rosary of Jewels* gives his birthplace as "a city in Sing ga la" (1b7). This could refer to Siṅhala, modern Sri Lanka, or more probably a location on the Indian subcontinent. The Indian Siṅhala is identified by D.C. Sircar as possibly in the Jhelum district of the Pujab-Rajasthan region. See D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), 110. It is unclear if we should view this Sing ga la as different from the place indicated by Lcag ma and Zangema. Further pointing to *lcag ma* being a phoneticized Sanskrit word, the king of Piribīnāgara – Lcag ma kha – seems to be named after the county, and all the personal names in this biography are phoneticized.

Phiribhit, a city bordering Nepal along one of the main routes to Mount Kailāśa. However, in the actual description of this city, it is reminiscent of the Mithila city of Simraongarh.

After a lengthy description of the delights available within this city, and the people's devotion to the *triratna*, the city is described as having stages of a moat, trench, and surrounding wall. The excavated city of Simraongarh is also described in these terms.[14] According to archaeologists, it too was characterized by a series of ramparts and ditches because of which it was given the name "the labyrinth." By the time Śāriputra was born, this city would have long since been overrun by Ghiyās ud-dīn Tughlaq in 1324, the king Harasiṃha having fled to the Kathmandu valley.[15] While the description on Śāriputra's biography is too little to link him to Simraongarh, the fame of this well-fortified city may have influenced the description of Śāriputra's birthplace. It should be noted, however, that there is nothing to rule out this city, either. While it was traditionally a Hindu city, and the description from Śāriputra's biography leaves no doubt that it was a Buddhist city, we do not know what changes Simraongarh underwent in its later history, especially after it was sacked. The fact that this city was the capital of the Mithila/Tirhut region on the border of present-day Bihar and Nepal, which played host to many Buddhist travelers, including Chag Lo tsā ba (who was invited to stay

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[14] See T.O. Ballinger. "Simraongar Revisited." *Kailash* 1, 3 (1973): 180-84; M. Vidala, *et alia*, "A Test Trench Through the Fortifications of Simraongarh," *Ancient Nepal* 135 (1993): 10-21.

there as *rājaguru*) demonstrates that this area was not hostile to Buddhists even before the 1320 fall of the Hindu capital.

No final conclusions can be made as yet about the exact location of Śāriputra's birth. However, we can state with confidence that it was in East India, and not Nepal. There is nothing in any of the other biographical or historical material to call into question this basic point, and indeed it is affirmed throughout.

The city of Piribīnagāra was a Buddhist idyll. The biography describes the delights of the city in a descending hierarchy: the spiritual, the human, and the natural. The city contained the three jewels. There were parks, temples, and residences for the ordained clergy in great number. The denizens of the city were faithful to Buddhism, and donated lavish offerings. The people themselves were decorated with precious materials such that none were poor materially or psychologically. There was food and drink in abundance. Interestingly, the biography states that there was something for each type of person, for the person of the highest rank as well as each individual rank. This may be considered to indicate the relatively egalitarian distribution of the city's wealth, but as we shall see below, it may also reveal the understanding that the class hierarchy of the citizenry had different needs or expectations to be met. The needs of the city dwellers were fulfilled along that hierarchy. Finally, the natural (though highly structured) beauty of the city is described in terms of palmyra trees and lotus ponds, bathing pools and flower gardens.

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[15] See L. Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482)*, (Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1984), 113.

In the center of this well-defined landscape sat the palace, and within that the king who bore the name of the whole country, Lcag ma kha.[16] This is the place where Śāriputra was born, at the center of an idyllic, highly-structured landscape. He was not Lcag ma kha's son, but the son of the "second king" *Somānasvakāra.[17] Born at the top of the social hierarchy, Śāriputra's birth seems to place him at the top of the spiritual hierarchy as well.

At the time of Śāriputra's conception both Somānasvakāra and his wife, Bhadradevī, received auspicious dreams. Somānasvakāra dreamed that a precious jewel was placed in his hand. In Bhadradevī's dream, the sun, moon, planets, and stars all rose at once, and a white conch was sounded to the cardinal and intermediate directions. Further, a large fire blazed on her body. Having completed a not-unreasonable ten months in the womb, Śāriputra is born and the father pronounces his interpretation of the dreams:

> In my hand, a stainless precious jewel is received, this young boy, the sign of pure breeding (*vaṃśa; jāti*), unmixed with another. From the mother's dream in which sun, moon, planets and stars rise completely: the rising sun is a sign of holding the teachings of

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[16] As stated above, Lcag ma may indicate an ethnicity, and therefore Lcag ma kha may designate a ruler of this group of Lcag ma people.

[17] Whether this indicated the king coming after Lcag ma kha, or the second in line to the throne is not clear. Guenther has suggested a point reiterated by Michael Walter: that sometimes the Indian "king" should be better thought of as an administrative title. See H. Guenther, *The Royal Song of Saraha*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), 7ff; M. Walter, "Jābir, the Buddhist Yogi: Part One," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, 4 (1992): 433 n. 6. This phenomenon is best summed up by Sircar: "The poet at the courts of medieval Indian rulers often grossly exaggerated the achievements and status of their patrons. Sometimes even a small landlord enjoying the right of collecting taxes from a few villages only was endowed with epithets befitting an emperor." D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1. Somānasvakāra is a not uncommon Buddhist name.

> buddha and protecting all sentient beings impartially. As for the rising moon, it is a sign of clearing the darkness of ignorance and vanquishing the non-Buddhists and so forth. As for the rising planets and stars, it is a sign of impartially performing the benefit of beings, and fulfilling wishes in accordance with the desires of individuals. The white conch sounding to the cardinal and intermediate directions is a sign of fame being proclaimed to the ten directions. As for a great fire blazing on her body, it is a sign of discriminative insight *(shes rab; prajñā)* blazing like fire (2b-3a).

Even after such a prediction, there is a certain realism about the biography. The objective details such as the term of Bhadradevī's pregnancy are not unreasonable, and the more fantastic episodes are confined to subjective events like dreams and their interpretation. Somānasvakāra does not interpret his and Bhadradevī's dreams right away. He cautiously waits until Śāriputra is born, perhaps tailoring his predictions to the gender of his child.

The local augur prophecies on the side of caution during the name-giving ceremony. He simply states that Śāriputra will not stay long in his homeland, but will benefit others elsewhere. As a result of this, Śāriputra was originally named Mahirdika, which is given as the (most likely Prakrit) equivalent of the Tibetan "Gzhan mdzad," probably a shortened form of *gzhan phan du mdzad* "to do the benefit of others."[18] Śāriputra was the eldest of five[19], his brothers being Maṅgala, Lakṣmana, and the twins Droṇa and Hari. The text gives what appears to be Prakrit forms of these names, but for clarity, the Sanskrit equivalents are given here.

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[18] How exactly "mahirdika" comes to mean "benefiting others" is unclear, but may be a Prakrit form of the Sanskrit *mahīkṛ* or some other transformation of *hita* + √*kṛ*.

[19] Though in the Chinese biography, he is the second son of the king, not the first son of the second king.

Shortly after the last of his brothers was born, presumably, Bhadradevī dies. Śāriputra was ten years old at the time, and the death of his mother triggered a period of existential crisis in him. Acknowledging that everything is impermanent, he questions what is of value in the world. At the same time, because everything is impermanent, one must not waste the time one has and lead a meaningless life. His thoughts on death and impermanence lead his to the second phase of his life: the monkhood. He resolves that going before the three jewels and taking ordination is the best way to lead a meaningful life. He takes refuge and ordination vows with the teachers *Guṇaratna and Mahāsvāmi.[20] At this point, he is given the name Śāriputra.

Placed within the context of the biography as a whole, the second phase of Śāriputra's life begins with his ordination, not the death of his mother. Although Bhadradevi's death leads to his decision to become a Buddhist monk, her death and Śāriputra's succeeding crisis forms one of the cycles occurring in this biography: an auspicious beginning followed by disappointment and death. I would argue that while this cycle contains some of the character of Buddhist teachings on the ineluctable and pervasive character of suffering and impermanence, these cycles

[20] The name of these gurus are not certain. However, their rough approximation feature in the Chinese biography of Śāriputra. See the edition of this biography in the appendix, as well as the discussion of this Chinese biography in chapter five. What should be noted here is that while Śāriputra and other Indian Buddhists are often called e.g. Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi, here it is a question of two teachers. This is indicated in the Tibetan text by the use of the Tibetan sociative particle *dang*, "and." In the Chinese account, there is no distinguishing particle separating these two names, which cannot be said to be uncommon in Chinese. Nor is there are indication that this Tibetan *dang* is part of *Guṇaratna's name.

reflect above all the circumstance of Śāriputra's life as a Buddhist monk. That is, he is in some sense reflecting on the rapid disappearance of Buddhism from India.

These cycles repeat themselves throughout the biography, particularly in terms of the Maitreya prophecy. It is this quality of repetition, together with his affinity for the Vajrāsana temple, that links these biographies to Śāriputra's building efforts in Tibet and China.

At the beginning of this first phase, Śāriputra is born into the royal family of a well-fortified Buddhist kingdom. We are not told anything about the world outside the series of walls and moats protecting this realm. Within, a well-patronized Buddhism is flourishing within a generally prosperous citizenry. At the center of this, the king and queen have their first child, accompanied by many good omens. The setting for Śāriputra's birth could not be better. The problem is that this is as good as it gets. After Śāriputra is actually born, the soothsayer prophesies that he will do a lot of good for others, but will leave the land of his birth (thus prefiguring not only his journey to Vajrāsana, but also his exile to Tibet). Then his mother dies.

In a number of ways, Śāriputra's story parallels that of Indian Buddhism at that time. Later, when he is traveling through Tibet and China, Śāriputra is often seen as a representative of Indian Buddhism, but in those cases he visits carry a positive connotation, as if he is a kind of plenipotentiary who might give a stamp of authoritative approval to religious sites. However, in this biography, Indian Buddhism is clearly ailing, and to be identified with Indian Buddhism is traumatic.

One example of this parallel involves the soothsayer's prophecy. Śāriputra will leave the land of his birth, but will benefit others. In the same way, Buddhism itself

was rapidly dwindling in India, but was growing in Tibet, China, and the rest of East Asia. In fact, these foreign Buddhisms were influencing Indian Buddhism. As Gregory Schopen has pointed out, forms of the *Prajñāparamitā sūtra* that were popular in China then became popular in India.[21] The religious sites of Wutai Shan in China and the Ra sa 'phrul snang Tsug lag khang in Tibet were well known pilgrimage sites for Indian Buddhists.[22] Śāriputra must have known the Buddhist traffic between India and her Eastern Buddhist neighbors was becoming increasingly one-sided, especially from the perspective with which this biography was composed, that of a former abbot of Vajrāsana (as cosmopolitan a place as there was on the landscape of Indian Buddhism, as we know from the previous chapters), himself leaving his religious homeland.

Other indications in this first passage, such as the massive fortifications (reflecting both the seeming stability of the kingdom within, but also the need to be protected from an external threat) and the close juxtaposition of the great potential for religious benefit accompanying Śāriputra's birth with the personal tragedy following closely on its heels, seem to demonstrate that in his biography, Śāriputra is in some sense reflecting on the state of Buddhism in a time of decline.

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[21] G. Schopen, "The Mahāyāna and the Middle Period in Indian Buddhism: Through a Chinese Looking-Glass," in *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 3-24.

[22] For Wutai Shan as a site of Indian pilgrimage, see Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 79-86. For the Lhasa Jo bo as a pilgrimage destination, see Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, 17 [17b], trans. 71. As we saw in the last chapter, the Nepali *Svayambhūpurāṇa* depicts Mañjuśrī as residing in China (presumably Wutai Shan) and making a pilgrimage to what would become the Svayambhūcaitya.

The next phase of Śāriputra's life starts with his being given a new name at ordination. He goes before his gurus *Guṇaratna and Mahāsvāmi, asking to enter the monastic life. He is given a new name and takes the precepts of a new monk, which includes study of the *vinaya*, as well as the doctrine of good and bad karma (*las dge sdig; kuśalākuśala karma*), and teaching for individual paths (*lam so sor bstan pa*). This may simply indicate that he received basic instruction in Buddhist ideas. Certainly, learning the *vinaya* and the doctrine of good and bad karma (the doctrine of cause and effect?) would apply to both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna schools. The teaching for individual (*so so*) paths (*lam*), however, could indicate the Hīnayāna from a Mahāyāna perspective, or it may mean the teaching for individual liberation (*pratimokṣa*). However, it could equally mean teaching(s) for each (*so so*) of the paths (*lam*), i.e. Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna treated separately. This latter would point towards a teaching coming from a Mahāyāna perspective as one accepting or incorporating both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. It is also possible, indeed probable, that this term refers to doxographical learning, that is investigating the tenets of the various sub-sects within Hīnayāna, Mahāyāna, and probably brahmanical and other systems.

That Śāriputra was trained in the Mahāyāna tradition is obvious from his reading list. While many of the books he mentions having studied during his early education cannot be identified from the transcriptions given in the biography, the inclusion of *Abhidharma*, *Prajñāpāramitā*, and *Nāmasaṃgīti* places his education

squarely within the (tantric) Mahāyāna tradition.[23] We should also note that Śāriputra emphasizes his knowledge of *sūtra*, commentaries, and grammar.

Thus well prepared for the (wandering) monastic life, Śāriputra makes the decision to leave his homeland and go to Vajrāsana "in order to benefit his mother and to free all beings from *saṃsāra*."[24] This naturally recalls both the soothsayer's prophecy and the death of Bhadradevī. The reference to liberating all beings demonstrates that Śāriputra's worldview has grown since losing his mother at ten years of age. Yet he has by no means forgotten her. Rather, his new location within the Buddhist religious world gives him a sense of purpose that encompasses his former one-pointed concern for his mother.

What follows is an eulogizing vision of Vajrāsana, which recalls the description of Śāriputra's birthplace. Again, the difference with this description and the previous stage is the augmentation of Śāriputra's vision. Instead of a walled city, at the center of which is the palace of his birth, he references the center of the world, Vajrāsana. It must be recalled that according to Buddhist cosmology, not only is Vajrāsana the center of the world, that world is bounded by an iron wall (*lcags ri; sāla*). In addition, the surrounding wall of Vajrāsana is also referred to as an iron wall.[25] The Vajrāsana site represents a world within a world, just as Śāriputra's homeland is described as a world cut off from the outside. Both places are

[23] The study of Abhidharma alone would not suggest the Mahāyāna, but a scholastic, tantra-influenced, Mahāyāna training would have included the study of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, and possibly the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.

[24] *khong rang gi ma'i don gzhan yang sems can thams cad 'khor ba las bsgral ba'i phyir*, 4b2.

[25] "Iron wall" is not an uncommon term for any surrounding wall.

described as extremely favorable towards Buddhism and Buddhist practice. In fact, in terms of religion, they are described as exclusively Buddhist. The difference between the two places is a matter of degree. At Vajrāsana, the merit of deeds is multiplied by ten million, and the number of holy sites is likewise increased (ten million *stūpa*s, ten million temples, the site of enlightenment of countless *buddha*s).

In this way, Śāriputra's desire to go to Vajrāsana reflects an internal change as well. I am not suggesting that the move to Vajrāsana is a purely literary metaphor, but we must bear in mind that these are Śāriputra's reminiscences from a later period in his life, and it would not be strange if his historical actions took on more meaningful connotations. In this biography, the historical and the metaphorical run side-by-side. As we will see with his secret biography, the historical starts to fade in relation to his internal experiences which seems to uproot the historical anchors around him. Indeed, when we turn to the secret biography, we will be able to reread passages from this more common biography in a still more subtle light. For instance, the cosmos bounded by a wall and centered with a palace or the Vajrāsana *stūpa* can be read as a metaphor for the (*vajra*) body given some of Śāriputra's statements in the secret biography.

We should not get ahead of ourselves, however. In the exoteric biography, Śāriputra's wish to go to Vajrāsana may reflect a desire to make his physical surroundings suit his expanded worldview. His next act is to seek permission for the journey, first from his guru, then from his father. Neither his guru nor his father wants him to leave. His guru is, however, constrained by the fact that going to Vajrāsana is a meritorious pilgrimage site. He must, therefore, give his

permission. At the same time, if Śāriputra leaves, "this monastery of mine will become empty."[26] This is an important statement, and should give the reader pause. Just a few pages before, this land was described as a sort of Buddhist paradise, a place where the three jewels were *present*, with inconceivable numbers of representations of the body, speech, and mind of the buddhas, as well as pleasant residences for the *saṅgha*. Now we are being told that with the loss of this one monk, a monastery will empty.

These are not contradictory statements once we ask the basic question: what is the state of the *saṅgha*? There are *representations* of the monastic community, but aside from Śāriputra's two gurus, no monks or nuns have been introduced in the biography.[27] It is possible that in relating his biography, Śāriputra is sketching a picture of Buddhism in decline, a picture that juxtaposes the presence of the accoutrements of Buddhism with a dearth of human participants – the monastic community. Numerous empty or sparsely populated temples and monasteries would accentuate the glory that Buddhism once enjoyed, a glory situated very firmly in the past. This image also brings to mind the ambiguously understood concept of *pratirūpaka*, the penultimate stage in the life of the *buddhadharma*.

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[26] *nga'i dgon pa 'di stong par 'gro bar 'dug*, 5a2-3.

[27] This situation brings up the interesting question of how Śāriputra was ordained if the monastery was practically empty. That is, were enough monks present to hold the proper ordination ceremony according to *vinaya* regulations? These rules may have been less than rigorously adhered to. For a Tibetan example of a nun being ordained without the presence of the required nuns, only "by enough monks who were fully qualified," cf. H. Diemberger. *When a Woman Becomes a Religious Dynasty: The Samding Dorje Phagmo of Tibet*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 133-4, 183.

During this stage, either nothing of the Buddha's *dharma* would be left except images (*stūpas*, statues, etc), or not even *stūpas*, images, etc would be left of the *dharma.*[28] Both understandings convey the sense of loss that will accompany this stage, that at some stage there will only be forged representations of Buddhism left, with no living embodiments of the religion. Then, not even this will remain, when one will no longer remember what the *dharma* was (perhaps a slightly less painful, though more irretrievable, stage in decline). It is possible that Śāriputra was attempting to convey the beginning of this period of Buddhist history, the beginning of the end, marked by the loss of the *saṅgha.*

It is also possible that Śāriputra's guru simply enjoyed his company and meant that in Śāriputra's absence, his monastery would *seem* empty. Given his father's reaction to the same request for permission a few lines later, this latter explanation is the more obvious one. The guru's fear is of losing Śāriputra himself rather than of losing the only monk in his monastery. Śāriputra's distinct value to his guru is therefore emphasized, but this by no means dismissed the initial questions. We are still left to wonder why no other monks are mentioned.[29] Śāriputra seems to have no peers in his homeland. There is a notable absence of background characters

[28] On this concept of *pratirūpaka* as understood throughout Buddhist Asia, see Stein on "Fabricated Law" (*loi contrefait*) in Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 50-52. See also above, Chapter One, n. 74 on the stages of decline according to Buddhagoṣa. Here, the penultimate stage is the disappearance of even the external signs of Buddhism, the loss of monastic vows and knowledge of the scriptures having preceded this.

[29] This is in marked contrast to the biography of Śāriputra's approximate contemporary, Vanaratna, who often noted the improbably large number of monks studying with the gurus he visited.

with whom he interacts. He has brothers, but they are never mentioned other than being named. This period is dominated by paternal figures, either secular (his own father) or religious (his guru). Otherwise, there is a prevailing sense of isolation in his life. His guru having relented, Śāriputra reiterates his desire to benefit the Buddha's teaching, even if he must go to Vajrāsana to do it. This again recalls the soothsayer's prophecy.

After his guru gives reluctant permission for his journey to Vajrāsana, Śāriputra approaches his father towards the same end. His secular father is not constrained like his guru to give permission to visit holy sites. He approaches his father with humility, offering gifts and berating himself for being a bad son in every way before he asks permission to leave. The king dismisses his son's humbling comments, and seeks to dissuade his from leaving in a manner similar to that of the guru. Here there is no ambiguity about the meaning. He tells his son that he is like his eyes and heart. He is dear to the king, and if he leaves the city will seem empty.[30] This is the exact phrase uttered by the guru, with the substitution of "city" for "monastery," and underscores the similarity of the two men's roles in Śāriputra's life, as well as their salient difference (guru / father; religious / secular; monastery / city).

Perhaps as a result of not having a religious obligation to let his son leave, the king asks the obvious question of why. If his son wants to perform acts of charity, there are dwelling places for the *saṅgha* in their own city. If there is some other meritorious act to perform, he can do that at home. Moreover, his family is also there. Here, his father seems to get to the heart of the matter. He states, "Although

[30] *grongs khyer 'di stong par 'gro bar 'dug*, 5b3-4

being without your birth mother, this stepmother is her equivalent."[31] Then his father and the rest of the family weep at the thought of Śāriputra's leaving.

While there is no question that the king is portrayed as having cared for his son, given the weight Śāriputra attached to the death of his mother, his father's comment on the easy substitution of one mother for another betrays the isolation that Śāriputra's self-portrayal describes. However, the mention of Bhadradevī's death at the end of Śāriputra's interaction with his father roughly parallels the recollection of the soothsayer's prophecy at the end of his interaction with his guru, and at this point we can confidently assert the central importance of these two early experiences in the life story of Śāriputra. These experiences must also been seen to figure into his decision to leave his homeland for Vajrāsana.

At first, however, Śāriputra lets himself be persuaded by his family's sadness. He agrees to delay two days before embarking on his journey. He ends up staying two weeks. We are not told what happens during this time, but whatever did occur serves to sharpen his resolve to leave, and he escapes during the night. The parallel with the Buddha's own life story from the *Buddhacarita, Lalitavistara,* and other biographies is so obvious as to not need stating. However, making this overt parallel clear is a necessary precondition to pushing the analogy in an investigation of Śāriputra's understanding of his life's similarity with that of the Buddha. The two biographies interact with each other such that we can reread the Buddha's biography in light of Śāriputra's, and see within it the importance of the death of the Buddha's mother and the prophecy of his own greatness as driving forces

[31] *khyod kyi ma cig bu cig med na 'ang ma yar 'di ma'i dod yin mod,* 5b6-6a1.

within his need to escape his own family. In addition, Śāriputra may have understood his own isolation as similar to that of the Buddha, who had to leave his kingdom in order to pursue his religious goals. This is not to state that the Buddha, like Śāriputra, could not have pursued religious activity within the confines of his own homeland. However, to attain the magnitude of religious activity that he desired, to do justice to the prophecy of his birth, or to somehow come to terms with his mother's death, he must go to a place where the center is a religious one, not a secular one.

In Śāriputra's (and the Buddha's) kingdom, the center is the palace. Both need to go to the religious center of the world, Vajrāsana. Śāriputra's journey to Vajrāsana marks the beginning of the third stage in his biography. From stage to stage, the religious dimensions in Śāriputra's life become more central, though religious and secular themes are never entirely absent. As with the first stage, the second ends with loss, the despair of the father, the escape of the son, and the reminder of the mother's death.

Shortly before Śāriputra's escape, when his doubts have turned into resolve, he has a dream. The dream is related in one of the few extended scribal notes to his biography. These notes are themselves of great interest in having a style which is distinct from the that of the main body of the biography. In these notes, we can see the links between this biography and that of his secret biography, the latter almost entirely concerned with an interior world of visions and esoteric practices. This dream is not entirely out of place in this biography, as the dreams of his mother and father preceded his own birth, and this dream precedes his flight into a new

religious life in Vajrāsana. With respect to his own dream, however, Śāriputra acts as his own soothsayer, interpreting it for the reader. This is a characteristic of his secret biography, and as we shall see, Śāriputra's visionary life intrudes a few times into his exoteric biography, though these intrusions are never made explicit. The fact that this dream is explicitly qualified as a dream serves as an overt link connecting it with the portentous dreams of his parents. The quality of repetition which characterizes this biography cannot be overemphasized, as it informs our understanding not only of Śāriputra's relationship toward the Vajrāsana temple, but also of his reaction to the state of Buddhism. This will be discussed later.

In this dream, there is a mountain range extending to the north and south. The range "faces" east. That is, the craggy side of the mountain (the face) is the eastern side. Atop the highest peak, hanging from the tip of a tall tree, a prayer flag flaps in all directions. Śāriputra scales the mountain and grasps the flag with both fists. He does not stop the flag, but rather is overcome by it, and finds himself flapping in space along with the flag. According to Śāriputra's own interpretation, the mountain range represents Vajrāsana, and his climbing to the top represents his arrival there. The tree represents the tree of teachings. The flag symbolizes the 84,000 *dharma*s taught to sentient beings. As for Śāriputra grabbing the flag, this is a sign of his grasping some of the Buddhist teachings, and helping to spread them in all directions, just as the flag flies on all directions.

As usual in this biography, Śāriputra seems to speak about himself with some restraint. To characterize this style as humble would not quite be correct. He casts himself in a light which might be best described as exoteric or non-tantric. From

his esoteric biography and contributions to the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur*, we know that he practiced tantra. However, the contents of his exoteric biography would easily conform to the standards of a biography of any tradition, Mahāyāna or Hīnayāna. This general rule is only broken in the marginal notes. Even in the main body of the biography, however, we do not have to press very hard to uncover Mahāyāna or tantric readings. Śāriputra's dream is a case in point. Though itself part of the marginalia, Śāriputra's own interpretation is not at all extraordinary. Yet if we push his interpretation slightly, it opens into a much more comprehensive vision of Śāriputra's self-understanding.

The first question in his interpretation is why Vajrāsana should be represented as a north-south mountain range. One would think that a single mountain would suffice if it was meant to represent the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi *stūpa*. It is possible that the other mountains represent the myriad smaller *stūpa*s littering the Mahābodhi environs. There would then be no reason to have a line of mountains. A cluster of mountains would be more appropriate. A more likely explanation is found in the directionality of the mountains. They are east-facing (*kha shar du*). Unlike in English usage, in Tibetan a mountain does not have multiple faces, where a face simply denotes one side of the mountain. Mountains are much more anthropomorphic; they have one face (*kha*). This face is the craggy side of the mountain. The smooth side is the "hair."

With an understanding of the directionality of the mountains, their relation to Vajrāsana becomes more apparent. They represent *buddha*s, all of whom come to sit on the *vajrāsana* on the eve of their enlightenment, facing east. The tradition

that all *buddhas* come to Vajrāsana for their enlightenment is stated numerous times in the biography, as is the fact that the *buddha* faces east. The line of mountains traveling north-south may then represent the line of *buddhas* which come to Vajrāsana for their enlightenment. Therefore, his scaling of the mountain represents more than arriving at Vajrāsana, but actually climbing to the heights of a *buddha* himself. The fact that the mountain he climbs is the highest in the range may indicate that the Buddha of the present time is the greatest *buddha* of the age, not an uncommon Buddhist trope. By grasping on to the flag, he is not only grasping on to some of the teachings, but the very highest teachings of the *buddhas*. Śāriputra uses two terms for what we have been translating as "flag." When first describing the dream, he calls it a wondrous *dur khra*. This is probably a misspelling for *dar khra*, denoting variegated pieces of silk, often designating prayer flags.[32] When interpreting the dream, Śāriputra uses the term *cod yan dar* (= *cod pan dar*), meaning a silk crown or diadem.[33] Thus, in seizing this flag, he is grasping the

[32] As pointed out earlier, this biography is full of scribal errors. It is interesting that many of them involve the anomalous substitution of words for life and growth for words of death. For example, *grong khyer* (an inhabited place, a family home) is often spelled *grongs khyer*. *Grongs* is a homophonous word meaning "to die." While *grongs khyer* does not exist as a single term in Tibetan, it would translate as "a house of the dead" or "a place where one brings the dead," instead of "an inhabited place" (connoting life). Here, *dar khra* is misspelled *dur khra*. *Dar khra* means variegated strips of cloth, from *dar* ("silk") and *khra* ("variegated/piebald"). These silken flags often, as here, denote the spread of the Buddhist teachings. *Dar* also means "to spread" as in *chos dar*, "the spread of Buddhism." Contrary to this notion of expansiveness, *dur* indicates a tomb. *Khra* also means a bird of prey. While undoubtedly a misspelling of *dar khra*, *dur khra* would mean something like a carrion eater, or some predatory bird that haunts tombs.

[33] This term could also be a shortened form of *cod pan dar dpyangs* (Skt. *mauli*), meaning ornamental silk worn around the neck or ears. However, since Śāriputra

crown ornament of the Buddha, possibly a trope for the highest teachings or full enlightenment.[34] The tree on top of the mountain probably represents the *bodhi* tree which towers over the *vajrāsana*, and was often an index of this site.[35]

In terms of Vajrāsana as a place, it is accorded a status is Śāriputra's dream. It is like a mountain; it is above the place he is coming from. Having noted that Śāriputra's place of origin is the palace at the center of a Buddhist kingdom, Vajrāsana thus represents a stage beyond that, which in turn has its own center, the

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states that this flag flew from the very top of the tree, interpreting it as a head ornament seems correct.

[34] This trope is a metaphor for enlightenment in that he has seized the Buddha's crown, and thus become associated with that royalty himself in the same way that Maitreya was crowned as the future *buddha* by Gautama Buddha. On the Buddha's crown, see A.K. Coomaraswamy, "The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa, and Crown," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (1928): 815-841.

[35] The importance of the *bodhi* tree in the Buddhist imagination was indicated somewhat in the previous chapters, and will be discussed again below. The description of this mountain also bears some resemblance to the architecture of the Mahābodhi temple, being a *śikhara* temple, topped with a *caitya*. These structures often had a symbolic resemblance to a *buddha*'s own body. The central pole of a *caitya* often protruded from the top of the main structure, and was crowned with an object said to represent the *uṣṇīṣa* (crown jewel/protuberance) of a *buddha*. The central pole (Tib. *srog shing*; Skt. *yaṣṭi*) may be what Śāriputra is referring to here as a tree (Tib. *shing*). Cf. N. Gutschow, *The Nepalese Caitya: 1500 Years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, (Stuttgart: Axel Menges, 1997), 24. We know that for a long period, the flattened pinnacle of the Mahābodhi *śikhara* contained "a *caitya* with dome, *harmikā* and umbrella" (Gutschow, *The Nepalese Caitya*, 310). The tree may refer to one or more of these elements. In addition, we must recall from the previous chapters that we do not have a precise idea of what the Mahābodhi *caitya* looked like in the fifteenth century. Indeed, there are small-scale replicas of this *caitya* in which the bodhi tree seems to be incorporated into the building. As Ulrich von Schroeder has stated, "The small replicas, which measure between 12.8 cm and 18.2 cm, have one important feature that bears no relation to the architectural setting of the Mahābodhi temple – the depiction of the Bodhi tree growing inside the temple with the upper part visible on the terrace at the back." U. von Schroeder, *Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet*, 1: 321-2. This is precisely what the biography seems to describe here and later.

Mahābodhi temple and the Vajrāsana site proper. The notion of moving from a profane lowland to a sacred mountain is not uncommon symbolism, and here Śāriputra makes the hierarchy clear. The danger involved in crossing from one part of the hierarchy to the other can be seen in the following episode, in which a messenger attempts to carry him back to his homeland.[36]

This dream represents a new prophecy for Śāriputra, reminiscent of the portentous dreams of his parents before Śāriputra was born. As in those dreams, Śāriputra sees himself achieving great facility in the Buddhist teachings, and spreading them. His vision also incorporates the prophecy of the soothsayer, in that he will achieve his glory in Vajrāsana, not in his homeland. His journey to Vajrāsana stands as a new birth, and there is no turning back. In his vision, he is literally swept away by the Buddhist teachings. Floating in space, hanging from a flag is an interesting metaphor. It is not uncommon to read of visions wherein religious people raise a flag of *dharma,* or wave it. Being waved by such a flag is a different thing entirely. Instead of being an agent for the spread of the Buddhist *dharma*, the *dharma* becomes an agent of him. He gives himself over to it completely, and has no other anchor point in the world other than Buddhism. It is fitting, then, that he receives this vision after he has resolved all doubts about going to Vajrāsana.

While Vajrāsana represents his new religious life, his escape during the night must represent his dying to his old circle of friends, family, and monastic associates.

[36] This follows the notion of segmentation outlined by Geertz (*Negara*, 112-3) as well as the discussion of the maps in Ezekiel by J.Z. Smith (*To Take Place*, 55-57).

The journey to Vajrāsana then symbolizes the movement from death to rebirth, or from the profane to the sacred.[37] After five days on the road, a messenger sent presumably by his father catches up with him.

Demonstrating his resolve, Śāriputra says that whether the messenger kills him, binds him, or ties him to a horse, he will never go back. This seems to satisfy the messenger, who returns. It would be tempting to read in this passage Śāriputra's final rejection of his homeland, his family, or his secular concerns. As the next sentence states that no further obstacles lay on his path and he quickly arrived at Vajrāsana, one might think that the messenger represented the last of his qualms about embarking on a life the sole concern of which was religion. It might be true that he had indeed rejected his homeland in sending the messenger back. Yet he quickly states that his first meritorious act within the Vajrāsana compound was done for the benefit of his mother and the honor (*rim 'gro*; *parcaryā*, *satkāra*, etc.) of his father, as well as the benefit of all beings.[38] Neither of his parents are mentioned

[37] By characterizing this change as a movement from the profane to the sacred, I am not implying any kind of transcendence. Rather, there is a change in his placement in a hierarchy. In Śāriputra's case, as we shall see, both the sacred and the profane are associated with a place, either Vajrāsana or the kingdom of his birth. Both represent social positions within a hierarchy as well. In Vajrāsana, Śāriputra takes on the social role of an ordained religious in quite an outward manner. Thus, he debates other religious schools, repairs temples, and brings rain. The life he leaves would have also committed him to an outward display of the social role of royalty, which certainly includes religiously minded royalty. Indeed, he takes on the role of preceptor to just such a king when during his tenure in Vajrāsana. Therefore, the terms sacred and profane have quite concrete references. Cf. Smith, *To Take Place*, 45.

[38] We know from epigraphical evidence that monks and nuns who sponsored or undertook the building or refurbishment of religious sites often did so for the benefit of their parents. Cf. G. Schopen, "Two Problems in the History of Indian Buddhism: The Layman/Monk Distinction and the Doctrines of the Transfer of

again after this statement. All that can be said about this episode is that it may indicate his rejection of secular life, though by no means his relationship with his parents or others involved in secular life. This is, of course, a not uncommon Buddhist sentiment, especially among the ordained. One embraces the seeming contradiction of abandoning the world, while maintaining a serious concern for those who have not yet done so, the very people who constitute "worldly life."

Śāriputra's first act, which he dedicates to his family and others, is the rebuilding of a temple to Ratnagarbha (*rin chen snying po*) on the grounds of Vajrāsana. He built this new temple on top of the ruins of an old temple to Ratnagarbha. Presumably, there was no shortage of ruined temples surrounding the Mahābodhi temple, itself in ruins, so it is interesting to imagine why Śāriputra chose this temple to rebuild. We should not forget that arriving in Vajrāsana represented for Śāriputra the entrance into a new world and a new life. As soon as he arrives in this world[39] that held such promise though visions, he describes first the destruction he witnesses there. This repeats the familiar cycle of auspicious prophecy ending in loss. Here, however, Śāriputra is forced to change his response. After the prophecy of his birth, his mother dies, and he abandons a life without meaning for the life of a monk. After his auspicious beginning as a monk and the

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Merit," in *Bones Stones and Buddhist Monks*, 23-55. See also "Filial Piety and the Monk in the Practice of Indian Buddhism: A Question of 'Sinicization' Viewed from the Other Side," in *Bones, Stones, and Buddhist Monks*, 56-71.

[39] Śāriputra states "inside the surrounding wall of Vajrāsana" (*rdo rje gdan gyi lcags ri'i nang*). The *lcags ri* connotes a surrounding wall, but does so via reference to the iron (*lcags*) mountains (*ri*) that surround the world in the Buddhist cosmology. Therefore we can state that passage through the surrounding wall also symbolizes the entrance into a new world.

beneficial possibilities of going to Vajrāsana, he meets the sadness of his family, and abandons his family and homeland to escape to Vajrāsana. After his portentous vision of Vajrāsana, he sees its destruction. There is nothing left to abandon in the face of loss, so he begins to rebuild. A suitable place to start in this endeavor is with the temple to Ratnagarbha, another name for Kubera, the god of abundance.[40]

Śāriputra himself furnishes the temple' statuary and paintings. He then consecrates the temple on the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment.[41] Building this temple was foreshadowed when Śāriputra explained to his guru that he was going to visit Vajrāsana, a place where "because ten million temples were erected for others, building just one temple there brings great fortune."[42] He then goes on to make offerings at famous sites where the Buddha stayed, including Vajrāsana, Nālandā, and Rājagṛham. His fortunes rise upon the accession of King *Ciṅgalarāja (Rtsa bska' la ra tsa) to the throne of Magadha.[43] Śāriputra preached

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[40] For Ratnagarbha as Kubera/Vaiśravaṇa, as well as a *bodhisattva* in the *Lalitavistara*, cf. Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, (Tokyo: Meicho-fukyū-kai, 1976 [1855-1875]), 7: 250. See also F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar & Dictionary*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1985 [1953]), 451: "Name of one or more bodhisattvas: *Mahāvyutpatti* 665; *Gaṇḍavyūha* 2.24; *Daśabhūmikasūtra* 2.5...*Lalitavistara* 294.20." Kubera is also the guardian deity of the North, a direction heavily figuring in Śāriputra's life, as we will see shortly. A Kubera temple has been found along the northern perimeter of the Mahābodhi compound, but not in the location that Śāriputra mentions.

[41] In the Tibetan calendar, this would correspond to Saga Dawa, the fifteenth day of the fourth month. Given that we do not know when Śāriputra arrived at Vajrāsana, or how long he stayed, we cannot venture to guess the year in which the new temple was constructed.

[42] *der lha khang 1 bzhengs pa bsod nams che*, 4b5.

[43] Rtsa bska' la ra tsa may be the same Tsam ga la rā dza named as Śāriputra's royal patron in Tāranātha, *Rgya gar chos 'byung* (Sichuan: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 309. As far as I know, a king by this name is so far unidentified. Tsam

the Buddhist *dharma* to him, and "tamed his [mind-]stream" (7a). There follows a passage which is difficult to make sense of grammatically. It pertains to the sponsorship of Śāriputra's repairs to the Mahābodhi temple itself. The upper half of the Mahābodhi's gaṇḍola was destroyed by the "Turuṣkas" or Muslim armies.[44] A queen of the area named Ucchadibī or Ucchadevī was the main patron. It seems that she was not *Ciṅgalarāja's queen, but that of another unidentified figure known as *Ajñetasiṃha. Śāriputra inspects the site, and undertakes all the repairs successfully.[45] Following this, his royal patronage is secured, and the king become "like my father."

This last phrase recalls Śāriputra's own father's last words to his son. If there was any religious activity he wanted to undertake, the king would support this, as long as he undertook those projects in his homeland. In his homeland, a relatively anonymous Buddhist kingdom, Buddhism was well patronized. Śāriputra would not have much of an impact in aiding the Buddhist *dharma*. However, Vajrāsana was

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ga la rā dza is translated by Lama Chinpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya as "Ciṅgalarāja." See D. Chattopadhyaya, ed., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, 320. Tāranātha states that he is from Bham ga la (Bengal).

[44] Cf. Dung dkar blo bzang phrin las: "*Mkhas dbang dge 'dun chos 'phel gyi / de yang gan dho la 'di thog mar bram ze mo dza sa'i bu tha chung gis bzhengs kyang zer / chos rgyal mya ngan med kyi yin yang zer / gang ltar kyang bar skabs shig na shin tu nyams chag gyur pa las / ma ga dha'i khyim bdag 'chi med bya ba zhig gis zhig gsos bgyis de da bar lo stong phrag lhag tsam song / de nas slar yang nyams pa.*" (*Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1159b). The only story about the destruction of the temple environs that survives is that of the "evil" King Śaśanka who cut down the Bodhi tree at the beginning of the eleventh century. Cf. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, 84. Sircar defines Turuṣka, Turuka, Turaka as: "Originally, a Turk or a Turkish Muhammadan; later, Muhammadans in general." See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 345-6.

[45] This survey and repair work may explain Śāriputra's detailed knowledge of the Mahābodhi temple, necessary for the replicas discussed in the previous chapter.

different. It did not just have a glorious past as the place of the Buddha's enlightenment, it possessed an inherent glory in that it was the place where all *buddhas* of all time came to achieve enlightenment. And it was in ruins. Anything Śāriputra did here would be vastly more meritorious than even his greatest deed in his homeland, and there was so much to do.[46] Here was a place in which Śāriputra could realize all the prophecies applied to him from birth to just before fleeing his homeland. In Vajrāsana, he could benefit the Buddhist *dharma* vastly, as well as achieving personal fame.

Having won the royalty over to his side, he turns to the political and military leaders. He preaches the Buddhist *dharma* to them as well. Finally, he becomes the representative of Buddhism at a public debate organized by the king Skyer shing dhe ba, as well as ecumenically minded abbots of other faiths, and perhaps more polemically minded others. There were also those who came from Western India.[47] The debate is organized to last for nine days, and large crowds gather to watch.

What follows is not really a debate of the finer points of Buddhist philosophy, such as we find in other literary renderings of Indian debate like the *Kaṇḍanakaṇḍakhādya* of Śrī Harṣa. While he cannot here be said to present a coherent argument, we should not make the mistake of judging him to be an untrained philosophical tyro pretending expertise in debate. Śāriputra reveals himself as more of a showman, which may explain how he was able to garner

[46] In this, we gain a very clear example of the investment of symbolic capital, and the different rates of return, we discussed in the previous chapters.

[47] It is unclear to me the significance of these people from Western India. As we shall see presently, the West and the North loom large in Śāriputra's biography.

support among the royalty. His humorous opening thrust could be understood by religious and laity alike:

> When a Tīrthika talks, he says his god is supreme." Why is that? If it is because both the sky is Viṣṇu, and the earth is Keśava Viṣṇu, and external appearance is also Viṣṇu, then by these qualities there is said to be the "greatness" (*che; mahā*) of the meaning "*Mahā*deva." To that I say, if Viṣṇu is said to be like that, if everything is Viṣṇu, then when walking, you walk on top of a god; moreover, everything you discard, like urine, etc. is done on top of a god. Why?[48]

The expected response to this provocation is laughter, and he receives gales of it. Having caught everyone's attention, he proceeds to his main point.

> Listen to what I say! No *dharma*s are eternal and enduring. Why is that? All *dharma*s which are a collection of appearance, existence, saṁsāra and nirvāṇa are essentially one. That which has a mind has *dharma*. Why is that? Because all *dharma*s, which are collections of appearance and existence, are empty and are without a self. What is understood as "emptiness" is *dharma*. How is that? Because earth, stones, mountains, rocks, plants, forests and so forth, everything arises from the mind.[49]

Nine days of debate follow, the details of which Śāriputra spares us. He emerges victorious, and the king, who previously favored both Buddhist and non-Buddhist faiths, became more devoted to Buddhism, and as a result, patronized the

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[48] *mu stegs pa zer dus / khong gi lha che zer te / de ci'i phyir na / nam mkha' yang bhi nu / sa yang khyab 'jug bhi nu / phyi'i 'byung pa yang bhi nus yin pas na / de dag gis / don gyi che zer ro / der ngas de ltar thams cad bhi nus yin zer ba / thams cad bhi nu yin na / khyod 'gro yang lha'i steng du 'gro zhing / dri chu la sogs pa thams cad kyang lha'i steng du 'der ba ci yin //* (7b3-6).

[49] *ngas bshad kyi nyon 1 / chos thams cad ni rtag cing ther zur ba ma yin te / de ci'i phyir na / snang srid 'khor 'das kyi pyus pa'i chos thams cad ni ngo bo 1 yin no / gang la sems yod pa de / la chos yod do / de ci'i phyir na / snang srid gyi pyus pa'i chos thams cad stong zhing bdag med pa yin te / gang stong nyid du shes pa de ni chos so / de ci ltar na / sa rdo ri brag rtse shing nags tshal la swogs pa thams cad sems las byung pa'i phyir ro //* (8a1-4).

Mahābodhi temple on a large scale[50] "even now," perhaps indicating that this patronage continued after he left India for Tibet. The other *paṇḍita*s from the debate also gained faith in Buddhism, and the king became devoted to Śāriputra himself.

Some time afterward, the (Buddhist?) chief preceptor Buddhasvāmi ('Bud rda swa mi) died. His possessions being in the hands of King *Vīrasiṃhadeva (Bhir shing dhe ba), the kings under the control of *Vīrasiṃhadeva, as well as the local ministers and functionaries, asked Śāriputra to take on Buddhasvāmi's role as a refuge for the people there. He accepts their burden. Whether this was an exclusively Buddhist position, or whether his position was to manage the possibly multi-sectarian activities in the Vajrāsana area is not made explicit, but we may presume that Vajrāsana was still a Buddhist enclave. Nothing is said about Buddhasvāmi except that he was "supreme among all the preceptors[51] (*mkhan po*) of

[50] Whether this was the overlord of Magadha, King Rtsa bska' la ra (*Ciṅgalarāja) or King Skyer shing dhe ba (*Dāruharidrādeva?) is not known, though Tāranātha only mentions the former as being Śāriputra's patron.

[51] *Mkhan po* is often translated into English as "abbot," but here it seems unlikely that the Vajrāsana community would be large enough to have multiple abbacies, among which Buddhaswami was chief. More likely, in this case *mkhan po* refers to a preceptor (*upādyāya*, cf. Negi 413). When Śāriputra states that he was the supreme preceptor (*mkhan po thams cad kyi nang nas mchog*), this may indicate that he became abbot of the Mahābodhi temple, or that he was chief among the religious preceptors in the area, who may have belonged to different faiths. Four lines later, when Śāriputra states that he accepted the position of *mkhan po* (*mkhan po mdzad*), this should be understood as his taking the position of primacy formerly held by Buddhasvāmi, whether as abbot or chief preceptor. Therefore, in this episode, *mkhan po* indicates both positions (abbot/chief and preceptor). When later writers such as Tāranātha (*Rgya gar chos 'byung*, 309) and the Fifth Dalai Lama Blo bzang gya mtsho refer to Śāriputra, it is as *Rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po* referring to his abbacy of Vajrāsana. See Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682), *Gangs can yul gyi sa la*

Vajrāsana." In fact, before his name is mentioned, it seemed as though Śāriputra was the only Buddhist in Vajrāsana. The Buddhist community is not described in any way.

Once Śāriputra undertakes his new role, he begins to refurbish the environment of Vajrāsana. He rebuilds temples and walls, as well as repairing old temples and paintings. This reinforces the picture of a willfully destroyed Vajrāsana that Śāriputra has described already, with the Turuṣkas' razing of the Mahābodhi temple. It should also be remembered from chapter two that the Vajrāsana temples were likely in almost constant need of repair due to reasons of climate and building materials. The destruction of the gaṇḍola of the Mahābodhi temple certainly antedated Śāriputra's arrival at Vajrāsana, but by how long is unknown. What the religious community in Vajrāsana did during the period of destruction is also unclear.

The biography of Chag Lo tsā ba may give us an idea of one response to an external threat. When he was visiting Vajrāsana, the religious community was warned that an army was on its way. The response was simply to flee the area, which Chag Lo tsā ba did alongside the others. After the threat passed, however, they returned to the Mahābodhi temple. It is possible that this cycle of fleeing and returning continued even into Śāriputra's time.

On another level, this passage demonstrates Śāriputra's relationship to Indian Buddhism itself. When he first arrived in Vajrāsana, all he saw (all he described)

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dpyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther / rdzogs ldan gzhon nu dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs, 66b2.

was destruction. There were no lofty descriptions of the site, contrary to his eulogy of the area prior to actually seeing it. He repairs one temple, which is followed by royal patronage allowing him to repair the Mahābodhi temple itself. Gradually, more minor kings and ministers, as well as the religious and laity of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist groups become attracted to him. Through philosophical discussions, people convert to Buddhism, and finally he is named as the refuge for all people in the area. This enables him to complete yet more repairs.

At this time, he is rebuilding not only individual temples, but Buddhism itself. Śāriputra never states that Buddhism was in decline, but through the use of Vajrāsana as a metaphor for Buddhism, it is apparent. In this metaphor, patronage and repairs are intertwined. The patronage of the overlords allows him to repair the Mahābodhi temple, the central temple of the area, which we have already noticed corresponds to the central palace in Śāriputra's homeland. The patronage of minor kings and ministers enables him to repair minor temples and the surrounding wall. Except for his initial repair of the Ratnagarbha temple, he rebuilds Vajrāsana from the center outwards, until he finishes the surrounding wall itself. As we have seen in previous chapters, using the Mahābodhi temple as a sign of the link between royalty and Buddhism itself is not new, nor does Śāriputra employ this device in Vajrāsana alone. It travels with him. As we will see, rebuilding or replicating the Mahābodhi temple has an ambivalent significance. For the time being, Śāriputra has been successful in rebuilding a seemingly devastated Buddhism in terms of both religious community and actual structures. At the

center of it stands himself, the prince (now abbot) finally beginning to realize his prophesied destiny.

The division between Śāriputra as prince and as abbot becomes blurred when we take into account his rebuilding. Although he is patronized by other kings, it is he who brings order to the Vajrāsana area. Not only is he the one who rebuilds the broken temples and walls, he also defeats and subsumes opposing philosophical schools from the local environs as well as western India. As we have seen from the last chapters, bringing cosmological order is one of the quintessential religious duties of a king.[52] In this biography, Śāriputra brings together in himself the aspects of king and *buddha* attributed to the Buddha in the latter's biographies. In one sense, Śāriputra is supported by other kings, but in another they are bringing him tribute for his religious services. In the next episode, Śāriputra will demonstrate quite clearly his religious power and the mundane benefits that can be derived from it. In this episode he shows himself to be superior to his patron kings.

After a few years, Śāriputra is again presented with a challenge. Magadha is in the middle of a drought. The crops have failed, and the people are tormented. The kings and common people alike beseech Śāriputra to help with bringing the rain. He may be their only hope, but he doesn't know anything about magic or other methods to make rain fall. What he does have is a relic (*ring bsrel*; *śarīra*) of the Buddha, and he makes offerings to it. He also tells the others to offer the five

[52] The king's duty to bring order to the cosmos is obviously not restricted to Indian or Buddhist kings.

articles of worship[53] continuously, day and night. After three days of this, a five-colored snake appeared. It prostrated to the relic, circumambulated it, and made offerings. Having made a kind of prostration to Śāriputra as well, the snake left. For a week afterwards, it rained incessantly, leaving the whole of Magadha looking like a lake. Naturally, everyone, including the king, becomes exceedingly happy, and prostrates to Śāriputra.

We see in this episode that Śāriputra overtly denies any knowledge of or talent with magic. This very denial may signal the fact that he did indeed practice esoteric methods, such as tantra, in secret. Certainly, it is not long before the marginal notes make his interest in tantra explicit.[54] Here, however, he may have simply been conscious of authoring an exoteric biography, and thus wanted to keep his mystical endeavors for his secret biography. From another perspective, he may be making a statement about Buddhist practice. He does not deny the potential efficacy of magic, but makes a strong case for simple devotional rituals, such as worshipping Buddhist relics. However helpful they may be, one does not need

[53] *Pañcopacāra* (*mchod pa rnams lnga*, 9a4). Recall that before asking to leave his homeland, he gave the five offerings (*mchod pa rnam pa lnga*, 5b2) to his parents. The five are usually enumerated as: aromatics (*gandha*; *dri ma*), flowers (*puṣpa*; *me tog*), incense (*dhūpa*; *bdug spos*), lamps (*dīpa*; *mar me*), and foodstuff (*naivedya*; *lha bshos*). Yet here, they are listed as flowers, incense, lamps, parasols (*gdugs, chatram*), and banners (*rgyal mtshan, dhvaja*).

[54] It is unclear if Śāriputra makes a distinction between studying tantric texts like the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, magic, and the internal yogic practices he describes below.

magic or tantra, one simply needs a continuous reverence for Buddhist symbols in order to elicit the favor of divine beings, such as the snake that appears.[55]

It is also important to take note of what Śāriputra seems to ignore in this episode. He emphasizes the efficacy of ritual materials like relics and offerings made to it, and ritual actions like prostration and circumambulation. Yet he makes no mention of place. Śāriputra once lauded Vajrāsana as a place which exponentially increased the merit on anything done there. It is a place where donating even a single brick generated countless merit. During this extremely important ritual to bring rain, however, he remains silent as to the ability of the Vajrāsana site to increase the efficacy of the relics or offerings made to it.

Śāriputra here gives us the first glimpse of a possible struggle between the importance and power of permanent ritual places, like the Vajrāsana site and the Mahābodhi temple, and more temporary or nomadic ritual sites that depend more on portable ritual implements, such as relics, the people who worship them, and the offerings they bring. We will discuss this further below, especially in connection with his secret biography, in which he seems gradually removed from a sense of place as an external reality, and becomes more involved with internal and visionary geography.

[55] This snake is of some interest, and will be discussed further below. Suffice it to say here that snakes have an important role in Śāriputra's biographies. We will see another snake shortly in this biography, and another five-colored snake in his secret biography. None of these snakes are identified as a *nāga* (Tib. *klu*), though the association of this snake with rain reminds us of the *nāga*'s power over water. It should be noted as well that this creature bows both to the relics as well as to Śāriputra himself.

Following this successful demonstration of the power of Buddhist practice, as well as his own power as a Buddhist practitioner, the biography turns again to the strength of Buddhist ideas. On this occasion, Śāriputra is not challenged by Vaiṣṇavites, but by Muslims (*sog po*).[56] His main interlocutor is described as a Muslim *paṇḍita*, who with his followers, debated with adherents of both Buddhist and non-Buddhist ("inner and outer") traditions.[57] He looks at the rebuilding efforts Śāriputra has accomplished and attacks. He asks, "Having rebuilt all these images, temples, etc, what are you going to do with them? Everything is empty

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[56] The term *Sog po* generally designates Mongolians, but in the context of this time period in India designates Muslims, which today are usually termed *Kha che*. *Kha che* is originally a place name (Kashmir) that lends its name to one of the religions of that area (Islam). This is not to say that the Tibetans thought all Kashmiris were Muslim, as the case of Śākyaśrībhadra (Tib. Kha che Paṇ chen, "the scholar from Kashmir") illustrates. Of course, in Śākyaśrībhadra's time, *Kha che* may have not yet acquired the general connotation of a Muslim, then designated by the term *Sog po*. As with *Kha che*, *Sog po* is originally a place or ethnic name (Mongol, Mongolia), but traveled with the Mongols through their conquest of Asia, until it designated Mughals in India. At this period, *Sog po* is the rough equivalent of *Turuṣka* (also a not quite precise term designating both a people, Turks/Tartars, and their religion, Islam, with a pejorative – often violent – connotation), and also designated Persia and what is today Turkey. Cf. Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 2063b-2064a. Interestingly, Hindu kings were sometimes given the epithet *Turuṣka* if they were particularly rapacious. See Dutt, *Medieval Kashmir*, 8. Another telling feature that prevents us from thinking that this was not a Mongolian Buddhist or Mughal Hindu is the substance of his argument concerning the futility of constructing icons and the finality of death. While these are by no means uniquely Muslim concerns, they may point more towards a Muslim interlocutor than a Brahmanical one. Note that when describing the destruction of the Mahābodhi temple's gaṇḍola, Śāriputra uses the term *Turuṣka*, but here to designate a Muslim scholar, he uses the term *Sog po*.

[57] Again, the spelling gives us pause. This *paṇḍita* may be a man who weighed everything (the MS reads *thams cad dkor*) or traveled everywhere (read: *thams cad skor*); he made a great deal of teachers and students (ms: *dpon lob tshan chen*) or he achieved great fame with his teachers and students (read: *dpon slob mtshan chen*). See the translation in the appendix.

appearance. Furthermore, this body, once dead, will not be reborn."[58] On the one hand, he is making an argument against merit-making. Making images of deities will not generate any merit, since everything is empty. There is no merit, and no basis for making merit. This, of course, cuts at one of the two central reasons Śāriputra came to Vajrāsana in the first place: to make merit for himself by building temples. The second reason was to benefit his mother, probably in the form of dedicating his own merit to her better rebirth. However, the *paṇḍita* also states that there is no rebirth, so Śāriputra's second endeavor is pointless also.

The narrative has just presented an implicit demonstration of the power of merit-making. Perhaps for Śāriputra, it is fine to say that all phenomena is empty appearance, but the empty appearance of rain is a better illusion than the empty appearance of drought. Now, however, he offers a more explicit, philosophical reasoning.

> When you say, "everything is empty," it is empty, but regarding its manner of being empty: how is it empty? It is neither purposeless nor it is purposeful. Neither coming nor going, it is naturally present. Therefore, it is free from the extremes of presence and non-presence. Why is it so? By reason of carrying concepts, clinging to "mine," expansion, contraction and existence, it is also not empty.[59]

Śāriputra is sidestepping the issue, it seems. Yet this argument is reminiscent of other Buddhist philosophers on the notion of merit-making vis-à-vis the notion of

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[58] *khyed kyi lha la songs pa 'di rnaMs thams cad bzhengs nas ci byed pa yin / snang srid kyi sdud / pa'i chos thams cad ni stong pa yin te / lus 'di ni shi nas len len rgyu med* (9b5-6).

[59] *khyod zer dus thams cad stong pa yin zer te / stong pa yin / mod stong lugs ni / stong pa ci ltar yin na / dmigs med kyang ma yin / dmigs bcas kyang ma yin / 'gro 'ongs med bzhin rang bzhin gnas pas na / de ni gnas mi gnas kyi mtha' dang bral sa'o / de ci'i phyir na / khyod rang gi sems kyi rnam par rtog pa'i drangs ni / khyod rang gi yi zin cing / 'phro 'du yod pa'i don gyis / stong pa yang ma yin* (10a4-10b1).

emptiness. In fact, Śāntideva makes a similar argument in the ninth chapter of his *Bodhicaryāvatara*, where he states that as long as sentient beings partake in carrying concepts of existence, then virtuous and non-virtuous actions earn like rewards. It is important to note the argument that Śāriputra does not make: that everything is mind. Years earlier, in his debate with the Vaiṣṇavites, he made the argument that everything arises from the mind. Now, his argument contains no reference to mind, but only to "natural presence, free from the extremes of presence and non-presence."[60] It could be that Śāriputra is demonstrating that his philosophical view is becoming increasingly subtle.[61]

His rebuttal against the finality of death is decidedly weak. It amounts to "there is no *not* taking rebirth." The argument is a familiar, albeit unsatisfying, one. It focuses on causes. Everyone now living must have come from somewhere, and that somewhere is a previous birth. Until one achieves buddhahood, one must cycle through the rounds of birth, death, and rebirth that constitute *saṁsāra*. Buddhas acquire gnostic bodies (*jñānarūpī*), which is different from physical rebirth.

From the perspective of argument, he is less than convincing on both counts. However, the points that his interlocutor brings up are difficult to prove, and are historically strongly debated topics between Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions.

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[60] *rang bzhin gnas pas na / de ni gnas mi gnas kyi mtha' dang bral sa'o*, 10a5-6.

[61] It would be a mistake to try to assign a specific philosophy to Śāriputra's two arguments. Just because he states that "everything comes from mind" in the first debate, he is not thereby necessarily linked to a Yogācara or Vijñānavāda perspective any more than all phenomena being "naturally present" is closer to something else. All we can state is that both arguments belong to a general Mahāyāna, Madhyamaka viewpoint. The arguments are not long or specific enough to make a more precise evaluation.

This episode between Śāriputra and the Muslim represents our only recorded instance of a debate between exponents of Indian Buddhism and Islam, and thus nothing can be said about whether or not merit-making and rebirth were hotly contended issues among these two groups. The *paṇḍita* and his followers offer no counter-argument, leaving the reader to wonder at the state of philosophical debate in fifteenth century India.

More important perhaps than the state of his argument is the fact that Śāriputra is extending the scope of his religious kingdom. He has once again brought order to his fief by defeating and subsuming members of an opposing faction – via philosophical debate. As with his ordering of Vajrāsana, his religious realm expands from the center outwards. He is initially challenged by Vaiṣṇavites, who are "outer" in the Buddhist dichotomy of inner/outer equaling Buddhist/non-Buddhist. This biography employs this dichotomy repeatedly to distinguish Buddhist from Brahmanical traditions, and therefore "outer" reflects a position outside of Buddhism (religion), but inside of India (culture). The Muslim faction is on a different order of "outer." Designated as *sog po* or *turuṣka*, they do not even belong to the inner/outer dichotomy. They are outside of Buddhism as a religion, and outside of India as a culture, i.e. *mlecchas*. Therefore, when Śāriputra defeats them, he is passing another boundary, extending his Buddhist kingdom that much further. In this non-violent conquering (while never leaving the center, i.e. Vajrāsana) he is drawing closer to the ideal of a *buddha* and *cakravartin*.

Therefore, we can see that in this exoteric biography, Śāriputra is portrayed as rebuilding a Buddhist society that had just suffered, or was in the midst of suffering,

severe cultural trauma. His rebuilding is multifaceted. Most overtly, he is rebuilding Buddhist monuments. In his philosophical debates and religious rituals, he is reconstituting systems of meaning which are distinctly Buddhist, and have the power to overcome both cultural and natural obstacles. With these two activities, coupled with the royal patronage which they engender and which allows him to proceed in more activities, Śāriputra is revivifying a system of relationships which existed during the flourishing of Buddhism. As we saw in the previous chapters, other countries used the Mahābodhi-Buddha-*cakravartin* motif to form an equivalence of relationships with an Aśokan Buddhist kingdom. We can see here that this was not just restricted to other countries. Within India itself, Śāriputra was attempting to make his struggling Vajrāsana into the equivalent of itself at a former time, during the Aśokan period. This he does by recreating the system of relationships which were the hallmarks of the former Aśokan period.

Immediately after the Sog pos nod their heads in agreement at Śāriputra's superior metaphysical understanding, he meets three *siddha*s. In the main body of the text, this event merits only two lines of writing. Only the names of these yogis are mentioned. The import of the meeting is revealed in the marginalia. As we have stated previously, the margins are where the exoteric biography blends with the esoteric. These spaces contained his initial vision of Vajrāsana, and here contain his move towards tantra. Indeed, these marginal notes may reveal the goal of his vision: grasping the highest teachings of Buddhism.

The three adepts, ranked as both *yogīśvara* (Tib. *rnal 'byor dbang phyug*) and *siddha* (Tib. *grub thob*), are curiously named, and seem to give him gradually more

esoteric teachings concerning inner practices of immortality. From the first, Ghōlenā,[62] he requests pith instructions (*man ngag*) and view (*lta ba*) concerning the *prāṇa* (Tib. *rlung*) of immortality. From the second, Ghaibu, he gains instruction on the immortal *naḍi* and *prāṇa* (*rtsa rlung 'chi med*), as well as on perceiving phenomena as bliss and emptiness, a hallmark of Buddhist tantra. His third teacher is named either Śrī Bhirbcha or Śrī Bagkṣa.[63] From him, Śāriputra learns how to transform *prāṇa* and gnosis, and perceive phenomena to be like the sky: empty, lucid, and aimless. This seems to constitute the "practice of Yoginī."[64]

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[62] This undoubtedly refers to Golenātha, whose biography was written by Śāriputra while in Tibet, alongside the biographies of Virūpakṣa and Gorakṣanātha. See appendix. Golenātha is often counted on the registers of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*.

[63] One is tempted to think that this refers to Virūpakṣa, but probably refers to an anonymous member of the Pakṣa-panthi subsect of the twelve Gorakṣanātha lineages described in Tāranātha's *Bdun ldan*, which was associated with Buddhism and Sufism. See H. Decleer, "Jonang Tāranātha's *Life of Buddhagupta-nātha*," (unpublished ms.), Appendix I.

[64] This may refer to *kecarā*, which is an important practice in the biographies of Gorakṣanātha and Golenātha authored by Śāriputra. It may also refer to Vajrayoginī or any number of other *yoginīs* in the Buddhist pantheon referred to as *khecarā* (Tib. *mkha' 'gro*). Śāriputra is credited with at least two tantric *sadhanas* in the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur*, both of which are dedicated to female tantric deities, Ugratārā and Chinnamuṇḍā-vajrayoginī. Only the latter mentions the term "immortality" (*mchi med*), which is hardly enough to warrant associating this *sādhana* with the instructions Śāriputra received from these yogis. However, in the biography of Virūpakṣa authored by Śāriputra in Tibet, Virūpakṣa receives many Vajrayoginī lineages, in particular that of Chinnamuṇḍā (*dbu bcad ma*). We will speak more about Śāriputra's tantric contributions to the Tibetan canon below. These works are found in the Peking and Snar thang *Bstan 'gyur*. In the Peking *Bstan 'gyur*: 1) *Chinnamuṇḍāvajrayoginīsādhana* (*Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma dbu bcad ma'i sgrub thab*), Pkg. no. 4669 (vol. 82) 109.4.6-110.2.2 [vol. phu, 13b6-15a2] (authored by Śāriputra and translated with Blo gros brtan pa bzhi pa); 2) *Ugratārāpūjavidhi* (*Sgrol ma u gra'i mchod pa'i cho ga*), PEKING no. 4854 (vol. 86) 117.3.4-117.4.8 [vol. Zu 163a4-163b8] (authored and auto-translated by Śrī Śāriputramahāsvāmin). A possible third contribution follows the Ugratārā *pūja* text. *Raktatārā-jagad-vaśaṃkara-cakra-*

We will not discuss Śāriputra's tantric inclinations here, but will leave this topic until we examine his secret biography. However, it should be noted here that the concept of *prāṇa* (Tib. *rlung*) plays an important role in his biographies, and is associated somewhat with snakes. It is doubtful that meeting these yogins constituted Śāriputra's first experience with tantra, as he states that he requested particular teachings from them. This might indicate prior knowledge of tantra, as would his previous note about not knowing anything about magic. His secret biography implies tantric practice from a young age. In this exoteric biography, however, Śāriputra is careful to maintain a separation between the various levels of teachings. As we have seen, he progresses from something approximating a Yogācara view to more of a Madhyamaka position. Now, he announces a new phase of practice: tantra. In his scheme, tantra is implicated as the highest practice. He

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vidhi (*Sgrol dmar mos 'gro ba dbang du bsdu ba'i 'khor lo'i cho ga*), PEKING no. 4855 (vol. 86) 117.4.8-118.1.5 [vol. Zu 163b8-164b5] (authored by "Rdo rje gdan pa bsod snyoms pa"). Cf. *The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, Peking Edition*, ed. D.T. Suzuki, (Tokyo-Kyoto: Tibetan tripiṭaka research institute, 1957). The authorship of the Raktatārā pūja is unknown, the colophon simply reading *Rdo rje gdan pa Bsod snyoms pas mdzad pa rdzogs so.* Palmyr Cordier thought – presumably as a result of the link to Vajrāsana, and since it followed the Ugratārā pūja text authored by him – the Raktatārā entry might also be authored by Śāriputra. See P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque nationale*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1915), 183-4. There is no way to know for sure, especially as entries in the Bstan 'gyur are not grouped by author but by theme. Tārā in her red form does feature in Śāriputra's secret biography (where her *dhāraṇī* seems to place her in the *rakta* gotra), and the unknown author is associated with Vajrāsana. However, more than one contributor to the Bstan 'gyur has the epithet "Rdo rje gdan pa," and the red Tārā who appears in Śāriputra's secret biography has completely different mantras from the ones listed in the Raktatārā *pūja*. Still, Śāriputra must still be counted as a good possibility for the author known as "the mendicant of Vajrāsana" (*rdo rje gdan pa bsod snyoms pa*).

undertook these meetings with the *siddhas* in Vajrāsana.[65] Thereupon, he made pilgrimages to all the sites associated with the Buddha, including Gṛdhrakūṭaparvata.

It is at this time that he gets the idea that he absolutely must go to western India. Thereupon, he has a dream of being in Vajrāsana. He goes to the Mahābodhi temple and worships the Mahābodhi image through prostration, circumambulation, offering flowers, and so forth. He then goes to the upper storey and worships the images there in a like manner.[66] Finally, he reaches the roof (*yang thog*), where the *bodhi* tree sits.[67] He circumambulates it, and is joined by a beautiful white-clad

[65] As Dpa'o gtsug lag phreng ba notes in his *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, Vajrāsana played host to many yogis and siddhas, in addition to the many Hīnayāna or Theravāda practitioners noted by Chag Lo tsā ba [Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, (11-20 [11b-21b], trans. 63-76). For art historical witnesses of tantric practice at Vajrāsana cf. J. Leoshko, "Introduction," in *Bodhgaya: The Site of Enlightenment*, 4.

[66] Rajendralala Mitra (*Buddha Gayā*, 85) notes that the second story of the temple housed a throne of the exact same measurements as the first story throne. Since at the time of his excavation nothing sat above either throne, what the images looked like, or their possible function is pure conjecture. Mitra guesses that this second-floor image was a more restricted and more holy counterpart to the first floor image. If the note by Dung dkar blo bzang phrin las is accurate, the second floor image would have been the same as the one below, i.e. Śākyamuni in *bhumisparśa mudra* (see previous chapter, n. 135). According to Mitra, there was also a third-storey chamber, but there is no evidence of what it may have contained. Dung dkar blo bzang phrin las states that there was a *stūpa* at the peak of the temple, constructed legendarily by Nāgārjuna. *Dbus kyi gan dho la'i rtse'i mchod rten chung ngu de klu sgrub kyis bzhengs shing nang du ston pa'i ring bsrel bre gang bzhugs* (*Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1159b). This *caitya* is also discussed by Gutschow (see note, *supra*).

[67] There are a few items here worthy of note. The first is the similarity of this dream with the dream he had prior to leaving his homeland. There, he climbs a mountain on top of which sits a tree, the tree of the teachings. Here, he climbs the Mahābodhi temple, where the *bodhi* tree sits. The second is that the *bodhi* tree never sat atop the Mahābodhi temple, which is explained either by Śāriputra having been a fraud who never went to Vajrāsana, or by the third note, which is that this is a dream. In

boy.[68] They circle the *bodhi* tree together. Then Śāriputra faces something which for the first time provokes in him shock or disbelief. It is this feeling of shock that finally unhinges him, and which then fulfils the last part of his vision from the night before he left his homeland, and incites him to leave his adopted homeland.

While circling with the white-clad boy, Śāriputra looks to the North.

> In the Northern direction[69] was an extraordinary (*khyad du 'phags pa*) temple, with an exterior that was white like a conch. There were

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these dreams, Śāriputra may conflate the Mahābodhi temple with the *bodhi* tree, especially if he takes the temple as a metaphor for the body of a *buddha*, which would have to sit under the shade of the *bodhi* tree.

[68] This white person (*skye bu dkar po*) represents one of the few links between Śāriputra's inner and outer biographies. His name could also be translated as "pure *puruṣa*" or "white boy," the connotations of which I don't think would be any greater than the simpler white[-clad] boy. This person surely represents Avalokiteśvara. As one example of this equivalence, in the biography of Thang stong rgyal po, the eponymous hero is seen in a vision being led by a similar white boy. See the biography by Lo chen 'Gyur med bde chen (1540-1615), *Dpal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long*, (Bir: Tibetan Khama Industrial Society, 1976), 53; see also C. Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain: The Tibetan Iron-Bridge Builder Tangtong Gyalpo*, (Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2007), 135. The boy tells the visionary that Thang stong rgyal po is an emanation of himself, and Thang stong rgyal po is widely held to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. It is also possible that this boy represents Avalokiteśvara via Mitrayogin, a *mahāsiddha* with close associations to the cult of Avalokiteśvara, like Thang stong rgyal po. In Śāriputra's lineage biography, Mitrayogin is described as having a white appearance, sitting on a goral skin, a clear iconographical reference to the Avalokiteśvara. Finally, there is a reference in the *Lho rong chos 'byung* of another dream featuring a white person. It is there explained that "the white person from the dream is a manifestation of Avalokiteśvara" (*rmi lam gyi mi dkar po spyan ras gzigs kyi sprul par 'dug*). Rta tshag Tshe dbang rgyal, *Lho rong chos 'byung*, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994 [1446]), 633.

[69] This most likely refers to Tibet, although it may have other meanings for Śāriputra in this biography as well. Cosmologically, Tibetans often thought of Tibet as "north of Vajrāsana." Cf. Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Bod yul la bsngags pa*, found in J.D. Schoening and P. Sørensen, "Two Minor Works by Sa-skya Paṇḍita," *Studies in Central and East Asian Religions* 1 (1988): 41.

> various paintings within. Near it were various forests and fruit, grains, etc. It was designed exceedingly well.[70]

He then asks his companion what that marvelous temple is. The boy tells him that it is one of the two Vajrāsanas. To this, Śāriputra can only reply, "There are *two* Vajrāsanas?" The boy replies simply, "There are two." Again Śāriputra inquires, saying that according to his understanding, i.e. according to his education, there could be only one Vajrāsana (*gcig las med*). The boy goes further this time in stating that among the two Vajrāsanas, which are essentially equal, the one to the north is particularly wonderful (*khyad med pa'i nang nas kyang ya gi khyad par du 'phags*).

Śāriputra would not be alone in his disbelief of a statement that there were two Vajrāsanas. As we saw in the previous chapters, Buddhist discussions of cosmology and the Vajrāsana site stated with certainty that there was only one Vajrāsana, only one place where all the *buddha*s went for their final enlightenment. It was the one place that was never destroyed when the rest of the universe dissolved in the final conflagration at the end of an age. In addition, it was the center – the center of the world, the cosmos, everything. There could not be two centers. This went against reason as well as scripture. Yet the white-clad boy does not try to defend his assertion, he simply asserts it again. The only thing that he will tell Śāriputra is

[70] *byang phyogs de na lha khang khyad du 'phags pa phyi dkar ba dung ltar du yod pa / nang na ri mo sna tshogs yod pa 1 'dug pa / de'i 'dab na phar la nag tshal dang / shing thogs 'bras bu la sogs pa sna tshogs kyang 'dug go / bkod pa legs pa / khyed do* (11a4-6).

that the two Vajrāsanas are not different (*gnyis po khyad med pa*), and yet the northern one is particularly glorious (*khyad par du 'phags*).[71]

Śāriputra's response is to ask if he would be able to see the *stūpa* if he went looking for it (*ltar phyin na mthong ngam*). This may indicate that Śāriputra realizes that he is in a dream, and is asking if the dream-vision has a real life counterpart. However, it is interesting to note that Śāriputra never states that he woke up from the dream, and we are left to guess for the remainder of the manuscript available to us whether or not his succeeding journey is a visionary one or not. This blurring of mundane and visionary experience reinforces the notion that after this "shock," provoked by the white-clad boy, Śāriputra becomes unhinged. That is, he ceases to distinguish between the mundane world which can only have one center, and the visionary world in which anything is possible. I would further argue that this is seen by the biographer as spiritual progress, and that it is, in fact, what was indicated during his initial dream of Vajrāsana in which he is swept off his feet, flapping in space with the flag of the teachings. As Śāriputra interpreted that previous episode as meaning he would bring some benefit to the borderlands, this episode spurs him to leave Vajrāsana for the unknown.

The white-clad boy tells Śāriputra that if he goes by himself, he will see the northern Vajrāsana. At this, Śāriputra says, simply, "Okay then" (*de na legs so*), and leaves the Mahābodhi *caitya*. He heads down one path, then comes to a crossroads. One road leads west, another leads north. He takes the western route, reminding

[71] The implications of the Northern Vajrāsana being the "same, but better" will be discussed in the next chapter.

the reader of his initial desire to go to Western India (we are still ignorant as to why). This road becomes filled with brambles, and he becomes stuck in a swamp. Then the white-clad boy appears and tell him that this is not his path.[72] The northward path is his to take.

In contrast to the westward path, the northern route is full of various fruit and flowers. Along the way, he eats the fruit and picks the flowers. He arrives at a great city, where both the men and women are sowing. Everyone is wearing red.[73] From the path, he spots a familiar guru. The latter calls him closer, and Śāriputra recognizes him as a fellow countryman, a certain Buddha tham sam ther, an *upasampadā bhikṣu* (*dge slong bsnyen pa yongs su rdzogs pa*). This *bhikṣu* then asks Śāriputra if he knows the teachings of Maitreya (*byams pa'i chos*). He knows a bit, so the *bhikṣu* begins to comment extensively on them. In their discussions, they are of the same mind, affirming each other on many points. The conversation ends with the declaration that they are as one (*rang re gnyis gcig par 'dug*).

In this episode, there is another marginal note. This expands somewhat on their discussions. The *bhikṣu* explains that the era of Maitreya comes together, endures, then dissolves. The life of the *dharma* is like that of a human being or anything else: it ends. Four *buddhas* have come and gone, and when Maitreya

[72] Compare his response to being caught in brambles here, and a similar episode in his secret biography. In the latter, his response is quite different.

[73] This is our only indication that when Śāriputra speaks of going to the North, he means Tibet. The wearing of red may indicate Tibet not only because it is in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition that red clerical robes are worn, but also that it is common practice in ethnically Tibetan areas like Ladakh today that both clergy and laity wear clothing which is dyed red.

comes, he will be the fifth, according to the *śāstras*. Yet in the epoch of Maitreya, people will live 80,000 years in bliss and joy.

This marginal note is very interesting, as the very fact of it being in the margins provokes a deeper analysis than if it appeared in the body of the text. As we have seen, Śāriputra generally keeps the tone of the main body of his biography decidedly exoteric, a sort of run-of-the-mill Mahāyāna narrative. In the margins, however, he hints at a transgressive narrative. If this marginal note had appeared within the body of the text, we would be tempted to read a simple evocation of the coming of Maitreya. Since it appears in the margins, however, we are spurred on to read something deeper. What, then, is this *bhikṣu* saying about Maitreya and the era he ushers in?

It is possible that the *bhikṣu* was making a statement about the mundane nature of the Maitreya era. In the context of a declining Buddhism, it would be natural for Buddhists to look forward with hope to the coming era of Maitreya. The transgression would be to view this epoch as no different from any other phenomena in Buddhist philosophy: it comes together, stays for a while, then dissolves. In short, it bears the marks of impermanence characteristic of all things, including human life. It is not a permanent "heaven." Nor is Maitreya himself something unique to the world. As the *bhikṣu* states, in this good *kalpa*, four *buddhas* (including Śākyamuni) have come and gone, and when Maitreya comes, he will be fifth. Nothing else is said about the quality of him personally, or of his teaching. He is simply one more in a line of *buddhas*.

Even if this reading would have been considered transgressive, the marginal note does not read like the others in that there is no indication of Śāriputra's interior life, either in terms of visionary experience (as we saw in his first vision of Vajrāsana) or internal practices (as we saw with the teachings on *rlung, prāṇa,* that he requested from his yogic teachers). We should consider the possibility that something else has happened.[74]

From the moment that Śāriputra explained that he had a dream, the reader has not been told that he has woken up. In fact, we are never told for the remainder of the manuscript, and thus cannot be sure of what is visionary experience, and what is reality. The boundaries between these two states have been worn away, and the reader may notice that the landscape of the biography has become inverted: what was in the margins now comprises the body of the text, and the mundane, exoteric content of the body has been pushed into the margins, as demonstrated by the exposition of the *bhikṣu.*

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[74] As I am making a large point about the significance of the marginal notes, I would like to address the possible question of authorial intent. Perhaps the author or scribe forgot a passage and added it as a marginal note later. As this manuscript seems quite clearly to be a work in progress, this is a possibility. However, the placement of the visionary episode with the white-clad boy can be seen to justify my point that the author was careful about where he placed certain episodes. As we can see from the manuscript, the visionary meeting of the white-clad boy was originally begun in the margins after mention of his third yogic teacher. This passage is then crossed out, and altered slightly when it enters the main text. This demonstrates that the author deliberately chose where he wanted to put certain passages, in the body or in the margins. It was not haphazard. It also expresses a relationship between the inner practices Śāriputra learned from the yogis, his meeting with the white-clad boy, and his pilgrimage to other Buddhist sites (which we must consider to have possibly been a visionary journey, or a physical one).

This inversion is first signaled by the fact that he recounts a dream within the body of the text. Yet, the key moment of this episode is the "shock" that Śāriputra received upon being told that there are two Vajrāsanas. As stated earlier, this experience "unhinges" him. In one sense, this means that he has given himself over completely to the Buddhist teachings, and seems to have lost his foothold in reality. It also means that he has ceased to identify with a center of Buddhism which is fixed in one place. As a result, he leaves Vajrāsana.

J.Z. Smith's description of the role of surprise provides a typology allowing a richer understanding of the shock value of Śāriputra's experience:

> Surprise, whether in the natural or the human sciences, is always reduced by bringing the unknown into relations to the known, relations of similarity and difference, relations of analogy and homology, relations of metonymy and metaphor. The process by which this is accomplished...is translation; the proposal that the second-order language appropriate to one domain (the known/the familiar) may translate the second-order language appropriate to another domain (the unknown/the unfamiliar). Perhaps the strongest and best-known example of this procedure in the study of religion is Durkheim's translation of the language appropriate to religion (the unknown) into the language appropriate to society (the known). The only effective grounds for rejecting such an explanatory or interpretive procedure is to attack the possibility of translation itself, most often attempted through arguments of incommensurability. But the latter land one, again, in a complex set of theoretical arguments.
>
> I would note two implications raised by surprise and translation. First, translation, as an affair of language, is a relentlessly social activity, a matter of public meaning rather than one of individual significance. Second,...translation is never fully adequate...This holds equally for natural languages as for intellectual models.[75]

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[75] J.Z. Smith, "Bible and Religion," in *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 208. This passage is substantially repeated, with the addition of an interesting reformulation by Saussure ("scientific explanation consists not in a movement from the complex to the simple but in the substitution of a more intelligible complexity for another which is less"), in J.Z. Smith, "A Twice-told Tale: The History of the History of Religions' History," in

Upon his initial shock or surprise at the words of the white-clad boy, Śāriputra asks for translation. In some way, the boy's statement must fit in with Śāriputra's social or public reality, the reality of Mahāyāna Buddhism bounded by scriptural authority (indicated by the phrase *thos pa la*, "from what [I] have heard" or according to the scriptural teachings he has received). His statement (the unfamiliar) goes against all Buddhist scriptures (the familiar), and the translation is being denied to Śāriputra by the white-clad boy. The boy indicates to Śāriputra that he can experience the unfamiliar for himself, and the boy (re-)directs Śāriputra when the latter veers from the path to the unfamiliar (the North[76]), and onto the path of the familiar (the West[77]). However, he will not bring the unfamiliar or

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Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 371.

[76] One explanation of the significance of the "North" may be elucidated from a passage in the biography of Milarepa. His mother sends a letter indicating the location of gold coins meant for her son. To prevent the untimely discovery of these coins, she places a riddle into the letter, stating among other things that the money is hidden in "a north-facing valley." The letter is explicated by the wife of Milarepa's teacher thus: *lung pa kha byang du blta ba la nyi ma mi 'char ba ltar mal 'byor pa'i bem po'i nang la nyi ma mi 'char ba la zer bar gda'* "Just as the sun does not shine on a north-facing valley, the sun does not shine on the inside of the yogin's robe." See J.W. de Jong, *Mi la ras pa'i rnam thar: texte tibétain de la vie de Milarépa*, ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1959), 47. The association of the North with darkness and interiority may also pertain to Śāriputra's biography. As "the North," Tibet already represents the unknown for Śāriputra. In symbolizing interiority, it may help explain why his embarking on the northern path coincides with the inversion of the biography from social, external reality, to private, internal reality.

[77] If the North represents the internal or unfamiliar, the West may represent the external or familiar in that going West means staying in India, while going North means leaving India (the familiar) for Tibet (the unknown). This would make sense in the overlapping schema of Vajrāsanas. The Northern Vajrāsana is in Tibet, and also the internal. In relation to Tibet, the Bodhgayā Vajrāsana would lie to the West, and this Vajrāsana, as the site of Śāriputra's public life, would represent also

unknown reality into the realm of the familiar/known. Śāriputra must leave one reality for the other. This is precisely what he does in abandoning the world of public meaning which characterized the main body of his biography, and entering the world of individual significance which always lay at the margins. This latter world is internal and visionary, and at the moment he leaves on world for the other, the biography inverts. He thereafter resides in the realm of individual significance, and the locus of public meaning lies on the margins.

Śāriputra's activity in the main body of the text is related to public meaning. His ordination as a monk, scriptural study, active participation in upholding Vajrāsana as the center of Buddhism through acts of monument restoration and public debate, and finally his saving Magadha from drought are all public and social acts. In addition, his life revolves around fixed centers, whether his familial palace at the center of his homeland, or Vajrāsana, the center of the Buddhist world. The statement of the white-clad boy may have the effect of de-centering him. If there are two centers of Buddhism – whether the Northern one is in Tibet, in his inner landscape, or both – the familiar one represents the fixed, materially expressed center of his religious world.

What permits him to leave this fixed center is the shock given to him by the white-clad boy. This change represents, again in the words of J.Z. Smith:

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the familiar, known, or external. Therefore, when Śāriputra thinks of going to Western India earlier, and later takes the western path instead of the Northern, this may indicate his repeated inclination for the public/external over the individual/internal.

> The shift in the locus of religious experience and expression from a permanent sacred center, the archaic temple, to a place of temporary sacrality sanctified by a mobile religious specialist.[78]

The de-centering initiated by the white-clad boy effects such a shift in Śāriputra. He is no longer anchored to the familiar Vajrāsana as the center of Buddhism. He has become the "mobile religious specialist," capable of finding another, unfamiliar, Vajrāsana (which again may indicate an internal Vajrāsana or a Tibetan one, in either case one which is unfamiliar).

However, while we may see in this move away from the need for the Vajrāsana temple as the one fixed center of Buddhism as representing another step in his spiritual advancement, this should not be understood as Śāriputra abandoning the need for a Vajrāsana. One of the real indications of the pathos of his life is brought to the fore only when viewing the literary descriptions of his life alongside the historical. While he seems to have cut himself off from Vajrāsana to begin his peripatetic life, he spends the rest of that life defined by his relation to Vajrāsana by others, as well as repeatedly constructing models of the Mahābodhi temple, or the images inside of it. In this way, we can see that his separation from the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi temple was both liberating as well as deeply traumatic.

We must now return to the statement of the *bhikṣu* in the margins. There is one particularity in his exposition: the characteristics of the people during Maitreya's era. There are several Buddhist cosmologies related to the coming of Maitreya. In the general Buddhist cosmology, as this *kalpa* wears on, people's lifespan (and

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[78] J.Z. Smith, "Trading Places," 222. Note that Smith sees this shift of focus as directly related to the centrality of the sacrifice in the temple. Given that Buddhism lacks this tradition, sacrifice is not a factor.

sometimes their height) becomes gradually reduced. The *bhikṣu* is pointing to a singular prophecy when he states that during the epoch of Maitreya, people will live 80,000 years in bliss and joy.[79] This does not imply that the current world system will have dissolved and reconstituted itself before the arrival of the future *buddha*, as the Buddhist cosmology allows for multiple oscillations before the world-system finally collapses. At the beginning of a world system, and at each crest of the oscillations, the people again live maximally long lives in a golden age. All this may imply that the *bhikṣu* is warning Śāriputra that the age of decline in which they are living is a more profound, cosmological decline than may have been previously imagined. This decline of Buddhism is not a temporary setback or a failure of

[79] Cf. Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Buddhist Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline*, (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 14. One of the *sūtra*s of decline that Nattier cites is the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-suttana*. As we noted in the previous chapters, it involves the *cakravartin* and the effect of his kingship on the world in which he lives. When the kings rule according to the Dharma, people live 80,000 years and are beautiful. When kings abandon the Dharma, "poverty, crime and disorder are the result" (14). Lifespan declines to 40,000 years and people lose their comeliness. As morality declines further, human lifespan declines to ten years, and chaos ensues to the point that people start hiding in caves. "At this point the cycle shifts: so glad are the survivors to see one another that they resolve to take up morality once again, and their life span and comeliness begin to increase. Gradually the cycle returns to its zenith, the world is filled with prosperity and morality, and the human life span again attains its maximum duration of 80,000 years. Once again, a wheel-turning king, known as Śaṅkha will arise" (14). Under this king's reign, Maitreya will attain enlightenment. As Nattier point out, the story of Śaṅkha and Maitreya also plays out in the (Sarvastivadin) *Divyāvadāna*, the (Theravāda) *Anāgatavaṃsa*, and the *Maitreyavyākaraṇa*. See also J. Nattier, "The Meanings of the Maitreya Myth: A Typological Analysis," in *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*, ed. Alan Sponberg and Helen Hardacre, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 23-47. What distinguishes Buddhist (and Jaina) cosmology from Hindu cosmology is that the Buddhist system comprises an oscillating world which cycles twenty times through periods of decline and ascent (*antarakalpa*s) before moving to the next *kalpa*. The Hindu system moves progressively through four *kalpa*s of steady decline before the world reaches its destruction (*Once Upon a Buddhist Time*, 16-17).

Buddhism to work in the world, but the prophetic end of Buddhism necessary for its resurgence alongside that of human beings.

In this way, the *bhikṣu*'s use of the lifespan of a human being as an analogy for the endurance of the age of Maitreya is not made at random. In the logic of the narrative, human beings can stand in for Buddhism, their vitalities wax and wane with each other. The *bhikṣu*'s retelling of this prophecy implies that Buddhism is on the decline, but there is hope that this is a cosmological process, and both people's lifespan and happiness, as well as the fortune of Buddhism, will grow again. Śāriputra seems to take a particular stance towards this prophecy. He does not wait for Buddhism to regain its prestige, but is rather actively searching out a new Buddhist center, the same but better than the Vajrāsana from which he came. If, as we have seen in the biography before, Śāriputra equates his own life with the then-current state of Buddhism, he does not want to see that life decline any further. Buddhism may have been in cosmological decline in India, but it was thriving in Tibet or China. In a way, Śāriputra seems to have physically moved himself from an age of decline (India) to an age of stability or growth (Tibet and China).

Here, it is important to remember that Śāriputra's biography often portrays him as an embodiment of Buddhism. At the same time, the environment in which he lives is also sometimes analogous to Buddhism. In his esoteric biography, we will see that these are not contradictory analogies or mixed metaphors, as there he is told that the holy sites of Buddhism are represented within his single body. Here in his exoteric biography, we see hints of this already, especially in the marginal notes. It is in the marginal note telling of his vision before going to Vajrāsana that

we see Śāriputra becoming part of the religious landscape. He flaps with the prayer flags hanging from the *bodhi* tree under which all the *buddhas* attain enlightenment. At the same time, that religious landscape signifies aspects of the Buddha's teaching which are embodied within himself. In his refurbishing of the Vajrāsana compound and finally in his ritual to make rain, we see that Śāriputra's exoteric biography is constructing a dynamic relationship between the individual Buddhist who is given over completely to the Buddhist teachings and the abstract entity of "Buddhism." This relationship is reinforced by the *bhikṣu*'s statement that the era of Maitreya, the *dharma*'s endurance, and a human life can be equated not simply in terms of time, but in terms of nature and characteristic: all decline.

The reader is left to wonder if the *bhikṣu* is revealing a pessimistic or fatalistic attitude with regard to the present and future eras. The current one is in decline, and the next one will eventually decline as well. That is the basic quality of all existent things – they decline. However, he could also be making a statement about the necessity for not giving up now. The era of Maitreya will not be better, in essence, than the present time. Therefore, there is no use hoping for that era to come faster, or setting one's aspirations on living in that future time.

Yet if the reader trusts Śāriputra's statement that he and the *bhikṣu* regarded themselves as of one mind, the interpretation of this incident cannot be fatalistic. I would say that the *bhikṣu*'s marginal statement is one of the few overt testimonies to the *trauma* that this biography has been trying to convey. One of the major

repercussions of trauma is repetition[80], and the reader has been seeing this all along. As stated previously, the death of Śāriputra's mother and the decline of Buddhism in some ways reflect each other. The notion of a second Vajrāsana is not necessarily a joyful prospect. As the first Vajrāsana was ruined, the second may be too. Finally, as this era, and the life of the *dharma* declines, there is the prospect of a renewed era, an era a joy and long life, which in some ways reminds the reader of the second Vajrāsana, which is essentially the same, but also better than the first Vajrāsana. However, the reader is also reminded that this new era will run along the same pattern as the previous ones, and will end in the decline that Śāriputra and the *bhikṣu* are now experiencing. Decline and repetition of that decline are the fundamental hallmarks of existent phenomena.

How Śāriputra copes with his trauma is of particular interest in this biography. While repeatedly confronted with instances of decline, reflecting in some ways the decline of Buddhism itself, he turns back to Buddhism. Becoming a monk, going to Vajrāsana, refurbishing the Vajrāsana complex, and worshipping relics are all Śāriputra's responses to instances of decline in his life. These could all be considered orthodox activities to increase merit for the welfare of himself.

After his decentering, his response becomes more unorthodox, as he breaks with normative Buddhist cosmology and seeks a second Vajrāsana. When he meets the *bhikṣu*, he is in some sense meeting his orthodox self, the perfect monk.[81] After

[80] Another is withdrawal or denial, which we will encounter in the esoteric biography as well as in the biography of Vanaratna.

[81] As the biography states, they found themselves to be "as one."

the inversion of the biography, it is the orthodox that is pushed into the margins as Śāriputra leaves follows his vision of a Northern Vajrāsana. In this light, we can interpret the Maitreya prophecy as a normative response to the decline of Buddhism, whereas Śāriputra's new response is non-normative as he leaves for the unknown North.

The reasons behind his actions are clarified slightly in the next episode. Traveling farther north, he again encounters a snake, now definitely to be seen as a *nāga*. As the first snake encountered in the biography brought rain in response to Śāriputra's public worship of the relic, this snake brings healing as a result of Śāriputra's private offering to it. Associations with water and healing are the two dominant characteristics of *nāga*s in Buddhist ritual, particularly in Tibet.[82] Both are forms of renewal, whether of the land or of the person, which we have seen are entwined in this biography. In the last episode available to us in the incomplete manuscript, Śāriputra – having nothing – offers his hat to the *nāga*, who heals him in return. This act recalls both the large offerings he made to rebuild the Vajrāsana complex and the offerings he made to the relic. All these offerings bring renewal, but here we see that Śāriputra's religious expression is more private and individual than before. Indeed, the reader is not even sure if this passage is meant to take place in the external world, or Śāriputra's internal world.

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[82] Cf. Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 296: "these beings [*klu/nāga*] are at the center of rites of healing and of the expiations of sins, well known from Buddhism and reprised in good part from the *Klu 'bum* (and in the Mosso liturgy)."

The temple was barren as the public is so afraid of the snake that they will not enter to prostrate to the Buddha image. Śāriputra is alone with the snake, and makes a private offering. This is in stark contrast to the large public offerings he made to the Buddha relic which garnered the arrival of the first snake. In a like manner, the earlier snake responded by bringing rain, while this snake responds by addressing Śāriputra himself as "you without sickness."

The manuscript cuts off here, and we are left to wonder if Śāriputra ever separates his visionary experience from external reality, and if he reaches the Northern Vajrāsana. However, the reader is somewhat prepared to embark on Śāriputra's esoteric biography, in which the world anchored to external time and place is abandoned for a more visionary reality.

Chapter Four

The Esoteric Biography

Introduction:

From the very outset of Śāriputra's esoteric biography, the *nāgas* play an important role in the portrayal of his life. The exoteric biography we examined in the last chapter, although incomplete, transitions rather smoothly into the beginning of this esoteric biography via the device of the *nāga.*

Another literary feature used in the exoteric biography that is heightened in the esoteric biography is the narrative trajectory starting from Śāriputra's experience of the outer world – which in the esoteric biography represents the setting for both his visionary and ordinary life – to his experience of an inner visionary reality which is separate from the mundane world. While this device only becomes pronounced and articulated in the exoteric biography towards the end, it represents a distinct and pervasive feature of the esoteric biography. In contrast to the exoteric biography which provided the reader many "material" anchors in terms of geographical sites, but few with regard to time, the reader of the esoteric biography seldom finds a narrative anchor to an exterior landscape, but time is frequently being marked. Indeed, its landscape is almost exclusively an "internal" one. There are two reasons for this. First, the visions arising from his mental field come to dominate the narrative, which is perhaps to be expected in an esoteric

biography. Second, even the "real world" sites that he does visit and cite lose their own frame of reference in the face of that provided by the indicators of a sacred landscape that Śāriputra overlays on them.

Yet interestingly, Śāriputra's relationship to this inner realm is different from that of the exoteric biography. In the exoteric biography, the reader watches Śāriputra move away from a world that is carefully defined and bound by geography, whether symbolic or real. The trajectory seems inverted in the esoteric biography. Contrary to the exoteric biography, in the esoteric biography, the reader initially encounters Śāriputra as lacking control over the time and space of his visionary experiences. We don't know when he is having visions and when he is in the mundane world. Indeed, the visionary, divine realm often leaks into the mundane world. As the biography progresses, the visionary world becomes bounded by the world of sleep and dream. As Śāriputra begins to give the reader markers of his visions – such as "I had a dream that...," "I was sitting in meditative equipoise when..." and "then I woke up" – there is a sense that he is gaining mastery over this internal, visionary world (he is in fact creating an "internal" world distinct from an external, mundane reality) in his ability to separate it from his mundane experience.

This trajectory could be a result of Śāriputra's growing maturity as a socialized person. The world that he shares with others (the mundane reality) is divided consciously from his personal world (the visionary reality). At the same time, Śāriputra's visions constantly impede his understanding of his shared reality.

The comments of his divine interlocutors defamiliarize[1] him from the mundane reality both when he is a child seeing phantasms in the forest, and when he is an adult conversing with *bodhisattvas*.

We should not understand this narrative trajectory to mean that Śāriputra preferred his mundane reality to visionary experience because he confines it to dreaming and meditative equipoise. The bulk of the esoteric biography is, in fact, concerned with his dreams and visions, with few references to the shared, mundane world. Of course, this is to be expected in an esoteric biography. Yet as we will discuss in relation to his *Lineage Biography* in the next chapter, Śāriputra was known as an adept of dream yoga and illusory body yoga. In light of this, we may state that he devoted almost his entire life to being embedded in the visionary realm, unbound by the conventions of time and space. As I will argue in this chapter, his reliance on this visionary world represents another method of coping with trauma: withdrawal or denial.[2]

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[1] "Defamiliarization. Making the familiar strange by impeding automatic, habitual ways of perceiving. For Shlovsky and the Russian Formalists, defamiliarization (OSTRANENIYE) captures the purpose of (literary) art: the promotion of awareness." G. Prince, *Dictionary of Narratology*, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 18.

[2] The means by which he effects this denial is quite different from that of his contemporary Vanaratna, whose biographical narrative seems to deny the decline of Indian Buddhism completely by making hyperbolic claims about the number of Buddhists in India within an extremely detailed rendering of the Indian Buddhist world. For example, his biography claims that the number of Buddhists monks in his *saṅgha* at Mahācaitya was fifty thousand, and later in Sri Lanka, he resided with over five hundred other monks. See 'Gos lo tsā ba, *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam thar*, 4a2-3, 7a6. Vanaratna visits Vajrāsana and Nālandā prior to his trip to Tibet, then visits Vajrāsana again after leaving Tibet in order to build a statue of his teacher Buddhaghoṣa (23b5), but remains silent about any destruction there. After reading the Śāriputra biographies, we begin to see how strange the normality presented by Vanaratna's biography truly is. To purloin a phrase by J.Z.

THE BIOGRAPHY

The text of the entire esoteric biography is written in a single hand, but the work itself may be viewed as a compilation of various episodes in Śāriputra's life, arranged chronologically. Thus, we should not take the title, *The Secret Biography of Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra During His Residence in the Holy Land*, to mean that the entirety of the biography takes place in India (the Buddhist holy land). A second piece is called *The Secret Biography of Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra, who came to Tibet*, and a third a *Commentary which is the Seal of the Secret Vow*. These possibly constitute chapter or section titles, or biographical episodes brought together from other sources.

In his opening eulogy, the author notes that "these secret dharmas are written in *vaiḍūrya*" (*gsang chos be dur rgya rnams bri par bya*, 1b2). Given that the plural marker *rnams* is added to phrase *gsang chos be dur rgya*, we can be sure that the author viewed the biography as a single unit comprised of short pieces ("these secret dharmas"). That is, these are biographical episodes clustered together with a common, thematic thread joining them, the visions of Śāriputra from the age of eight.

As we will see below, the opening eulogy highlights the great qualities of Śāriputra himself. In addition, this statement that the biography is written in *vaiḍūrya* serves to underscore the importance of the narrative in its own right. Not

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Smith, why *aren't* the dogs barking at night in Vanaratna's biography? While Śāriputra denies his trauma via a retreat into a visionary world, Vanaratna denies it through his precise description of an Indian Buddhist landscape (which did exist) populated by a phenomenally large number of Buddhist clergy (which almost certainly did not exist, not at least in the numbers Vanaratna gives).

only is *vaiḍūrya* a precious substance, but a text described as being written in liquid *vaiḍūrya* is similarly precious, to be ranked among other texts written in this material, such as the *Prajñāparamitā* texts, the *Ma ṇi bka' 'bum*, and the various books and *tantras* that fell on the palaces of King Dza and King Lha Tho tho ri.[3]

THE EULOGY

In this short homage, the author presents Śāriputra as a *nāga*, in fact the lord of *nāgas*, (*klu dbang, nāgendra/nāgarāja*). This could refer to the Buddha himself, an epithet of whom is *nāgendra.*[4] There is also a *buddha* called Nāgarāja. Also, of course, there is the *nāga* king Mucalinda who protected the Buddha after his enlightenment. While the reference to the Buddha may be implied, the overt metaphor is to Mucilinda or one of the other *nāga* kings enjoined to protect Buddhism, given the crown jewel (*nāgamaṇi*) and cobra hood (*nāgaphaṇaka*) which are the marks of a *nāga*, not a person (Buddha) who has power over another class of beings (the *nāgas*), and hence is called "Lord of Nāgas."

In contrast to the exoteric biography's reluctance to reference *tantra* (and Śāriputra's note that he didn't know anything about magic, etc.), Śāriputra is here clearly associated with esoteric Buddhism (*gsang sngags*). The Secret Mantra is referred to as his cobra-hood, the spreading of which makes him resplendent.[5]

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[3] See R.A. Stein, "Tibetica antiqua IV: The Tradition Relative to the Debut of Buddhism in Tibet," in *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 221-8.

[4] This epithet is also attributed to Nāropā in the eulogy which begins Gtsang smyon Heruka's (1452-1507) biography of Marpa (?1012-1097). Cf. C. Charrier, trans., *Marpa: maître de Milarépa; sa vie, ses chants*, (Saint-Cannat: Clair Lumière, 2003), 23.

[5] *gsang sngags sbrul mgo'i gdengs kas rab brjid pa*, 1b1.

As we have seen in his exoteric biography, and as we shall continue to witness in his esoteric biography, snakes (in particular *nāgas*[6]) play an important role in Śāriputra's life. Unfortunately, the reasons or explanation for the close relationship between these two is never made explicit. The reader is simply left to draw personal conclusions based on the interactions between Śāriputra and the snakes in these two biographies. It may be worth noting here that snakes and *nāgas* do not appear in his lineage biography, the *Rosary of Jewels.*

Age 8: How a Snake Moves

After the author's eulogy, the body of the esoteric biography commences by quoting the subject himself with the phrase "this Lord of *Dharma* himself said."[7] Most of the esoteric biography is represented as a first-person account.

This biography begins when Śāriputra is eight years old. The first memory he recounts features a snake. In this case, while he was out playing in a garden with his circle, he saw the arms and legs of a snake. This circle (*'khor rnams*) signifies more than a circle of friends, it probably denotes his retinue of servants (*'khor po rnams*). This concords with the description of him as a prince in the exoteric and Chinese biographies.

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[6] While snakes and *nāgas* are two quite different entities, a *nāga* can appear in the form of a snake, and the there is at best a soft border between the two in the narrative world of the exoteric and esoteric biographies. What we can state is that snakes are never mundane snakes, they either represent *nāgas* or other entities, as discussed below.

[7] *chos rje 'di nyid...gsung ngo*, 1b2.

The idea that snakes move via arms and legs, which then retract when they are observed, is common in Buddhist countries. The young Śāriputra is not so much surprised that the snake possessed these limbs as the fact that he actually saw them. After openly telling his guru about the incident, his only question is if such a sight is auspicious or not. His guru replies that it is a rare and auspicious thing, like an Udumbara flower or the *dharma*. These phenomena do not occur but a few times. An Udumbara flower only blooms every few millennia.[8] The nearly impossible rarity of coming into contact with the (*sad*)*dharma* is a well known Buddhist trope. It is a sign of virtue to see it. We should, perhaps, not view this incident as mere happenstance. In a sense, the snake revealed one of its secrets to Śāriputra. This occurred a few times in the exoteric biography, and later in this biography we will see other hidden abilities of snakes.

Śāriputra's guru then asks him how the snake moved with its many arms and legs (lit. "how its limbs spread out," *yan lag gi rnam pa ji ltar du gdal*, 1b5). Śāriputra compares its movements to that of buckets on the wheel of a water-mill. The sequence of movements is unconfused and constant. The reader is here reminded of the dialogue between the Kui and the millipede in the "Autumn Waters" chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, wherein the millipede describes its movements in similar terms.[9]

[8] Cf. Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (2201): *u dum wā ra: lo stong phrag kha shas kyi rjes su me tog thengs re shar ba'i shing zhig gi ming.*

[9] 夔謂蚿曰："吾以一足趻踔而行，予無如矣。今子之使萬足，獨奈何？"蚿曰："不然。子不見夫唾者乎？噴則大者如珠，小者如霧，雜而下者不可勝數也。今予動吾天機，而不知其所以然。蚿謂蛇曰："吾以眾足行，而不及子之無足，何也？"蛇曰："夫天機之所動，何可易邪？吾安用足哉"Translated by Burton

AGE 8-11: THE SERPENT KING

A short time later, Śāriputra encounters another snake, this one more formidable. At this time, he has been studying the requirements for an *upāsaka* (Tib. *dge bsnyen*),[10] and thus is in the company of a new coterie, his fellow monks. As in the last episode, Śāriputra apparently wanders away from his friends. He finds himself in a secluded spot, on a path through a dense jungle. The path is straight and well-marked, but seems not to have been cleared, and is overgrown with roots, leaves, and fruit. There, in the middle of the path, he meets Vāyu, the King of Snakes (*rlung sbrul gyi rgyal po*, 2a2).[11]

Watson in *Chuang Tzu: Basic Writings*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 105.

[10] This would imply that he had taken at least preliminary ordination as a novice sometime between his eighth and eleventh year, the two temporal anchors to either side of this narrative episode. This roughly accords with the statement in his exoteric biography that his mother died when he was ten years old, which prompted him to turn toward the religious life. However, no mention of his mother's death is made in this biography. These "requirements" may be a reference to the traditional five sciences (*pañcavidyā*), which gave Śāriputra the name Pañcavidyā Paṇḍita while in China.

[11] Alternately, he meets the king of the wind snakes (*rlung* [*gi*] *sbrul gyi rgyal po*), possibly in opposition to water snakes. Cf. Stein regarding *Prophecy of Khotan* in "Tibetica Antiqua I." "There, the author speaks of the *the'u shi* (= *daoshi* 道士, Daoists) and of the "king of the wind" (*rlung gi rgyal po*), an expression unknown in Tibetan and visibly translated from the Chinese "the god-king Count of the (Wind)" (T., p. 996b *feng* (missing) *bo shenwang* 風伯神王)." R.A. Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 94. The reference is to Taishō 2090, v. 51, 996b26. I am not sure if *rlung sbrul* is cognate with *sbrul rlung*, which is a known term denoting a particular vital wind (*prāṇa*). See M. Walter, "Jābir, the Buddhist Yogi: Part One," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 20, 4 (1992): 429. Walter mentions this "serpent wind" as part of a set of three vital winds (including "the wind of swift-footedness" and "the wind which clears up mental torpor") found in the teachings of Jābir. He does not describe the function of *sbrul rlung*.

There is much to give us pause in this account, the first item being the name of the entity he encounters. *Sbrul gyi rgyal po* could simply translate the Sanskrit *sarparāja*, possibly referring to Śeṣa, Ananta, Vāsuki, or Arbuda.[12] The *Amarakośa* relates that a *nāga* is in general to be considered a lord of snakes, as are the proper names of Śeṣa, Ananta, and Vāsuki.[13] Interestingly, in his commentary to the *Amarakośa*, the *Amarapadapārıjāta*, Mallinātha first glosses *Vāsukistu sarparāja* as "the name of Vāsuki" (*Vāsukināma*; *Amarakośa* 149), which is the usual definition of *sarparāja*. Yet commenting on the next verse, he references some extraordinary (or unmentioned, *anuktam*) kinds of snakes, including a two-headed snake (*"ahiriṇī tu dvimukhī" dvimukhasarpanāma*) and *sarparājastu sarpabhuk: sarpabhukṣakasarpanāma* ("King of Snakes = Snake-eater, a name for a snake that eats [other] snakes,").[14] These terms can also refer to other animals that have command over snakes and/or eat them, such as peacocks and garuḍas. As we shall see, all these definitions come into play in this scene from Śāriputra's life.

A question left unanswered is what this serpent king's relationship with *rlung* (*vāyu/prāṇa*) is. Again turning to the *Amarakośa*, we see that Vāyu is a

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[12] Böhtlingk and Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 7: 810. The *Mahāvyutpatti* dedicates an entire section to the names of various *nāga* kings. Referred to as *klu'i rgyal po* are Ananta (*klu'i rgyal po mtha' yas*) and Vāsuki (*klu'i rgyal po nor rgyas*). Ishihama Yumiko and Fukuda Yōichi, eds., *A New Critical Edition of the Mahāvyutpatti*, (Tōkyō: Toyo Bunko, 1989), 164-167.

[13] *Amarakośa* 10.1: *nāgāḥ kādraveyāstadīśvaraḥ/ śeṣo'nanto vāsukistu sarparājo'tha gonase.* See A. A. Ramanthan, ed., *Amarakośa, with the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries*, (Madras: Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1971-1983), 1: 148. Note that here a *nāga* (Tib. *klu*) is defined as a snake (*sarpa*, Tib. *sbrul*).

[14] *Amarakośa* (Adyar ed., 150).

collective term for the five vital breaths (*prāṇa*).[15] Upon closer inspection of some of the dictionaries at our disposal, the question becomes more confusing. According to Negi, *rlung* is used to translate a number of Sanskrit words, such as *anila, pavana, vāta, māruta, samīr,* and *samīraṇa.*[16] Each of these terms can denote "wind" in general, the god of wind, as well as the vital breath.[17] We cannot, therefore, make assumptions about the specific meaning of the phrase *rlung sbrul gyi rgyal po.* It is possible to make some general remarks after first examining the context of this phrase.

Śāriputra recounts:

> There, in the middle of the path, was Vāyu, the King of Snakes, having many heads and adorned with the five colors in a series. As for food, it was supplied by another class of snake. And if they did not supply food, that class of being became food to be eaten [by the snake-king]. But, having been eaten, they did not die [lit.: their vital faculties were not blocked]. Having been eaten through one mouth, they came out from another mouth. Dismissed, they were permitted to go.[18]

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[15] *Amarakośa* 1.64 (Adyar ed., 44): *prāṇo'pānaḥ samānaścodānavyānou ca vāyavaḥ.*

[16] Negi, 6540.

[17] This is true for *anila, pavana,* and *māruta,* all of which combine with *aśana* ("eater") to form "snake" (= "wind-eater"): *anilāśana, pavanāśana/pavanāśaḥ, mārutāśanaḥ. Vāyu* also indicates a "snake" when meaning "wind-eater" (*vāyubhakṣa*). Note that all these terms connote "wind," "god of wind," and "vital breath." Note that *vāta,* which does not usually connote the vital breath (although it does denote one of the three bodily humors) does not combine to form "snake." According to Böhtlingk and Roth (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch,* 7: 719-20), *samīraṇa* can refer to the god of wind as well as the vital breath. It does not combine with eating verbs to mean snake, nor does it combine with anything else. On the relationships between *nāga, klu,* and *long* vis-à-vis the elements of air and water, see Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua,* 310-313.

[18] *der lam gyi sked par / rlung sbrul gyi rgyal po sna re la 'go re yod pa / kha dog sna lnga pas / rim gyis 'tshar du mngar bar spras pa / zas ni ltos 'gro'i rigs can gyis sbyor zhing / gal te ma sbyar na de'i rigs can zas su za bar 'gyur la / zos nas kyang de'i srog gi dbang ngo ma 'gags par / kha 1 nas zos nas kha 1 nas phyung ste gtong ba dugs* (2a2-4).

Śāriputra never explicitly states that this is a snake, referring to it only as a *sems can*, which could indicate any living thing. As we have seen, *sbrul gyi rgyal po* (*sarparāja*) could indicate a peacock or garuḍa. Since both eat snakes, hence the epithet "lord of snakes," they would both fit in this scene. Yet it is unusual to see peacocks and garuḍas with more than one head. Multiple heads are a characteristic feature of *nāgas*. For example, the *Mahābhārata* describes them as having three, seven or ten heads. If we rely on the *Amarakośa*, a large snake that eats other snakes is called a *sarparāja*, and thus we can state in all probability that the creature Śāriputra describes is serpentine.

In addition, various classes of *nāgas* are differently colored, whether blue, red, or white (*Mahābhārata* 1.2162, 5.3622).[19] Therefore, it is possible that the various colors of the snake indicates his kingship, as he comprises the colors of all *nāga* classes. Alternately, if *rlung* indicates "vital wind," as we have seen it can, the five colors may denote the five *vāyus* or *prāṇas*. If we pursue this further, we run into complications, for again we must inquire into the relationship between *rlung* ("wind") and *sbrul* ("snake"). Whereas we have seen that snakes are called "wind-eaters" in the Indian tradition, here the wind is eating the snakes. Are the other snakes bringing back substantial food for the *sarparāja*, or is that creature also eating the wind that the snakes have eaten and/or brought back? This whole scene

[19] Cf. Alain Daniélou, *The Myths and Gods of India*, (Rochester: Inner traditions International, 1991), 308.

could be a metaphor for the workings of the system of *prāṇa* and *nāḍi*[20] (in that a snake could be a metaphor for a *nāḍi*, which "eats" wind qua *prāṇa*[21]), *śākti* (also imagined in terms of wind and snake), or something altogether different.[22]

Śāriputra never explains this odd scene, except to state that anyone who sees the serpent king gains power over the *nāgas* (*klu*, not *sbrul*).[23] This statement is also not elaborated. He concludes his childhood reminiscence by saying that when he was young, he witnessed many remarkable things and carried the memories with him into adulthood.

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[20] As we saw in the exoteric biography, Śāriputra sought out teachings on these topics.

[21] "Eating *prāṇa*" is also a metaphor for *kumbhaka*, the process of holding the breath in the practice of *prāṇayāma*. In this respect, the snakes going in one mouth and out the other may symbolize air (and *prāṇa*) entering one nostril – or the mouth – and exiting another orifice. This process is sometimes thought of as eating *ākāśa* in the practice of *rasāyana* (*bcud len*) aimed at prolonging life. As we will see, these practices of immortality (*'chi med*) were particularly important to Śāriputra. See M. Walter, "Jābir, the Buddhist Yogi: Part Two," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 24, 2 (1996): 161 n. 13. On Kuṇḍalini leaving the body, cf. Caraṇadās, *Aṣṭaṅga Yoga*, trans. O.P. Tiwari, (Lonavla: Kaivalyadhama, 1975), 31. See also D.G. White, *The Alchemical Body*, 212-222. Regarding the body as divided into five *tattvas*, see *idem*, 34. For each with its own color, cf. Caraṇadās, *Aṣṭaṅga Yoga*, 36-7. On this topic, see also the *Gorakṣaśatakam*, verses 69-73, and the *Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā* IV: 4-14. For each vital wind having its own color and element, see Walter, *idem*, 163 n. 25. As we will see, Śāriputra taught the doctrines of Gorakṣanātha (including *prāṇayāma*) in Tibet, and wrote a biography of him. Therefore, we can assume he was familiar with the *Gorakṣaśatakam* and the basic doctrines that informed the *Vasiṣṭha Saṃhitā*.

[22] White, *The Alchemical Body*, 213, mentions a "Lord of Serpents" in the course of a quotation from the *Rasendracūḍāmaṇi*, "And that *rasa* which fell from the mouth of Agni...was indeed used by the Lord of Serpents, who wished to leave behind old age and death." Unfortunately, White does not discuss the character of the Lord of Serpents, other than relating him to the mythical Kadru. He does, however, discuss serpents as an alchemical motif, and an important metaphor for immortality, usually in conjunction with a bird (*idem.*, 212-4).

[23] As we saw in the previous chapter, Śāriputra does maintain a certain power over serpents and their powers.

We should note that he summarizes the events of his first ten years in this way: "In sum, [I] saw wondrous things at the time of being young and small; later, when I reached adulthood, I did not forget."[24] His two memories recalled in this section were both of snakes, and both revealed something to him. Both were significant, favorable events, but indistinct in portent. When he sees the snake walk, his guru simply tells him that it is a good sign, nothing more. In the episode with the serpent king, for all the richness of imagery, he perceives no specific meaning. The mere seeing of the *sarparāja* yields power, Śāriputra does not have to engage with what he sees.

In Tibetan, the action in both these episodes is expressed by the involuntary verb *mthong* ("to see"). The young Śāriputra is simply "one who sees" (*mthong ba'i mi*, 2a4), not one who actively looks (expressed by the voluntary verb *lta*). Anyone who saw what he saw would experience the same results, which Śāriputra states clearly apropos of the *sarparāja*. The reason for his mastery over *nāga*s lies with the *sarparāja*, and not with himself. "Because that being was the ruler of snakes, the seeing of whom makes such a person one who will become one who has conquered the races of *nāga*."[25] It is crucial not to translate this passage as "...one who conquers...the *nāgas*" or "...one who will become the conqueror [of]...*nāgas*." The author takes pains in his choice of words to ensure that the reader does not attribute agency to Śāriputra. The phrase "to conquer" or "to bring under (one's)

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[24] *mdor na gzhon nu chung chung gi dus su ya 'tshan can mthong na de phyis nar son pa'i dus su yang mi rjed par 'dug*, 2a5.

[25] *sems can de sbrul rnams gyis* [= *kyi*] *rgyal yin pas/ de su'i mthong ba'i mi des/ klu'i rigs rnams dbang du bsdud* [= *bsdus*] *par 'gyur ba yin*, 2a4-5.

power" is usually rendered as *dbang du sgyur* or *dbang du sdud* in Tibetan. The author of this biography writes *dbang du bsdus 'gyur*. This is not a simply case of redundancy, as a crucial change has been imposed. The voluntary, transitive *sgyur* has been changed to the involuntary, intransitive *'gyur*. Śāriputra will at some point become (through no power or choice of his own) someone who conquered (perfective tense) the *nāgas*. By mixing past and involuntary future, this verbal phrase effectively skips past the action of conquering.

One may argue that the author is not trying to rob Śāriputra of agency; he is simply making a particular grammatical construction. It is true that the form *'gyur* added after a perfective (such as *bsdus*) serves as a periphrastic construction, the completed future, and thus would be translated "...the seeing of whom makes such a person one *who will have conquered* the races of *nāga*."[26] Yet this construction (in addition to rendering the sentence rather awkward) depends on the aspect of *'gyur* that we have been discussing. In much the same way that Émile Benveniste discusses the aorist construction in French history,[27] this completed future removes the sense of active engagement, that events could have happened another way. Again, what initiates the action is not Śāriputra's seeing (which is passive and involuntary), but the fact that what he sees is the king of snakes (comprising the

[26] On this construction, see Michael Hahn, *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*, Indica et Tibetica 10, (Swittal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1994), 164-5. Cf. the important notes on the *'gyur* periphrastic, with some criticism of the 1971 edition of Hahn's *Lehrbuch*, by Claus Oetke. C. Oetke, *Die aus dem Chinesischen übersetzen tibetischen Versionen des Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra*, Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien, bd. 18, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971), 366ff.

[27] É. Benveniste, "Les relations de temps dans le verbe française," in *Problèmes de linguistique generale*, 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1966), 237-250.

causative phrase that provides the reason for Śāriputra's future power). We are not told if Śāriputra knew immediately that seeing the *sarparāja* was a good omen, or if he found out later. All we do know is that he filed it away as a memory, not forgotten but seemingly not pursued either.

It is important to reflect on the way Śāriputra describes the summation of his very early experiences, as the way in which he characterizes his next experience contains an importance difference.

HOUND OF THE CHARNEL GROUND

When he is eleven, Śāriputra is again with a circle of companions, here described as many groups of youngsters.[28] As before, they are playing happily, though this time in a wooded area, full of leafy trees. It is described in similar terms as the path where he encountered the serpent king, and he states explicitly that this was a road he had been on before (*slar byon pa'i lam*). This time, he ends up in a charnel ground. "At one great and frightening charnel ground, I saw (*mthong*) an absolutely majestic black dog with eyes fiercely radiating light, like the eyes of a cat."[29] There is a small but important change that takes place in this scene as compared to the others. Śāriputra actually has a response to his environment – the charnel ground is frightening, or rather is a suitable place for fear (*'jigs su rung ba*).

[28] *'khor gzhon nu'i tshogs du ma dang bcas* (2a6).

[29] *dud khrod chen po 'jigs su rung pa cig na/ khyi nag po gzi brjid phun sum tshogs pa mig 'bras byi la'i mig ltar 'od zer grag tu 'phro ba cig mthong* (2a7-2b1).

This response to his environment is in contrast to his response to the terrible dog, which is "majestic."

The next morning, he relates his experience to his guru, much like he did after seeing the legs of the snake. This time, the guru probes him, "Did the appearance of fear arise in you?"[30] Śāriputra responds that none of the signs of fear arose.[31] Then the guru notes that it is an auspicious sign. Because he did not fear them, the female guardian spirits[32] will be his constant companions and support, and will eventually give him accomplishment (*siddhi*), and drive out any obstacles.

In this episode, it is interesting to note the use of the word *fear* (*'jigs*). First, the charnel ground is *'jigs su rung ba*. Not a (inherently) frightening place (*'jigs gnas*), but a place where terror (*'jigs*) could understandably or properly (*rung*) rise. This is what Śāriputra notices, perhaps demonstrating an ability to view emotional states from a remove. The blazing-eyed dog might inspire terror in most eleven-year-olds, but not this one. He rather sees its almost divine "majesty" (*gzi brjid*). The next morning, his guru also concentrates on ascertaining Śāriputra's fear. He does not ask, "Were you afraid?" or "Did the dog frighten you?" (**khyi de khyod kyis/la 'jigs*), but "Did *the appearance of fear* (*'jigs pa'i snang ba*) arise in you?" His disciple responds to the subtlety of his question, not by stating that he was not scared, but that none of the *signs of fear* (*'jigs pa'i mtshan ma*) arose. Both master and disciple recognize the illusory, constructed nature of this emotional state, and it seems that

[30] *khyod la 'jigs pa'i snang ba skyes sam ma skyes*, 2b1-2.

[31] *'jigs pa'i mtshan ma ma byung*, 2b2.

[32] *dpal mgon srung ma rnams* (śrī nātha rakṣā). The significance of women will be discussed below.

if Śāriputra was ever susceptible to being overwhelmed by illusory phenomena (as most people are), he has overcome this problem.

There is a significant difference between the episode with the dog and the episodes with the snakes which preceded it. In the former, Śāriputra's response notably lacks an emotional aspect. The scene is described, without engagement of any kind. In the charnel ground, Śāriputra describes how a normal person might react to the scene (terror), as well as how he reacted (awe). He is still has a passive role in the scenes he describes, acting as a witness, but there is engagement insofar as he examines his (possible and actual) emotional reactions. Further, his guru prompts him to reflect on what he has seen.

Since he did not react with fear, the dog (which was a female guardian spirit, *dpal mgon srung ma*) that appeared to him will guard him, finally bestowing yogic accomplishments (*siddhi*) and driving out harmful interferences ("enemies," *mi mthun*). Śāriputra does not have much to do with this, he just has to accept his good fortune. This is much like future mastery over the *nāga*, albeit with a crucial difference. First, unlike in seeing the *sarparāja*, not everyone could have seen the dog and gain the favor of the *srung ma*, only one who did not fear the sight of it. Second, the *srung ma* will have an active engagement in his life. The use of verb tenses is quite telling in this respect. It is not simply a forgone conclusion that he will attain *siddhi*, he will not "be one who will have attained" (completed future), which keeps him at a distance from his future self. There is a process in which he and the *srung ma* will be active. Although he may be understood to be a passive recipient of the *srung ma*'s bounty, he will be changed. They will drive out his

(inner) enemies as well as giving him boons. The action takes place in the future, but not the future perfect, which implies process, an emphasis on activity. Even if the action is on the part of the *srung ma*, Śāriputra cannot dwell at a remove from it, they will shadow him constantly.

Śāriputra concludes this episode in a manner similar to the way in which he ended the previous episode, namely by stating that there were many such wondrous scenes in his life, which he did not forget. Yet the phrasing he uses here is different and telling. Apropos of the previous events in which he was a passive witness, he concludes by characterizing them as simply memories that he "did not forget."[33] They comprise his passive memory. In contrast, he describes the events at the charnel ground as part of a number of wondrous portents[34] which were "unfathomable."[35] The last phrase is noteworthy in that it implies Śāriputra did reflect on these scenes from his life, and was unable to grasp them entirely. Literally, he could not reach (*lang ba*) them by means of pondering (*gzhal ba*). Therefore, he "hid them, like underground treasure" (2b4).

This final statement implies that these were not passive memories that he simply could not forget. His thoughts turned back to them, as they would to buried treasure. He recognized them as portents (*ltas*). They have meaning which he is unable to understand, and while he tries to make them meaningful, he is unable to fathom their full implications. That is, in this episode, the process of

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[33] *mi rjed pa*, 2a5.

[34] *ngo mtshar ba'i ltas.*

[35] *gzhal gyis mi lang ba.*

defamiliarization is similar to the previous episodes (encounters with phantasmagoria), yet Śāriputra is starting to become aware of the strangeness, and making efforts at translating the unfamiliar into the familiar, which are not totally successful.[36]

A CURIOUS DISH

The next episode occurs three years later, when Śāriputra is fourteen. He recounts that "once when making powerful exertions, I dreamed that I ate up all the broth and dregs of boiled human flesh."[37] This vision is in many ways different from those preceding it. No longer surrounded by a circle of companions, he is not enjoying himself in play, but is alone and in the midst of heavy religious austerities (*nan tan la brtson*, Skt *anuṣṭhānam/prayatna*). In addition, his vision is not represented as occurring during his waking hours, but in a dream. Finally, the central agent in the dream is himself.

All three aspects are interrelated. Śāriputra is here no longer portrayed as a passive witness of odd events, but as an active participant in them. In fact, as the

[36] Śāriputra describes the first episodes as *ya mtshan*, and the latter as *ngo mtshar*. This prompts the question of the difference, if any, between these two terms. The TTC (666, 2543) defines them in terms of each other, while Negi (983, 5623) defines *ya mtshan* as *ngo mtshar*, the latter receiving its own definition. However, in the examples they provide, there seems to be a subtle distinction. Although I would not like to assert the point too strongly, *ya mtshan* seems to denote something pleasantly surprising in the sense of being odd, strange, or "dumbfounding." *Ngo mtshar*, on the other hand, is more like "wondrous" or "curious," in that it actually excites curiosity, while *ya mtshan* is inexplicable.

[37] *nan tan la brtson par byed pa'i yod pa'i skabs zhig na / ngas mi sha gtsos pa'i khu rtsigs thams cad zos pa rmi nas*, 2b4-5.

visions proceed from the innocuous (the snake's legs) to the macabre (human soup), Śāriputra increasingly engages in his visionary world. On the one hand, this demonstrates his growing maturity, as his agency in the world is underscored. On the other hand, this maturity does not necessarily indicate that he is becoming a more social being. In fact, he is retreating from human companionship. In this scene, he is no longer accompanied by his friends or in pleasant surroundings. This is a notable change, and we will never again see the words for "friend" in this biography, nor the words for "pleasant" or "playing" that have comprised the backdrop for the visionary encounters seen so far. With this episode, and for the rest of the biography, Śāriputra's time of play has ended, and his time of striving (here in terms of austerities) has begun. What he is striving for is undisclosed.

The sense of isolation from his former world also begins here. In this scene, he is not in a pleasure garden or enjoying a jaunt through the woods. His location is not mentioned at all, and from now on, when they are mentioned at all, his non-visionary locations will be caves. The wooded paths that previously led him from friends to phantasmagoria have been replaced by the path from waking consciousness to dreaming consciousness, which perhaps represents a more definite transition. We cannot be sure at this point what this change means for Śāriputra. It may be a sign that he is gaining control over his visions. Instead of encroaching on his waking hours, he has confined them to a separate psychic state, that of sleep. Contrariwise, the visions might be exerting more power over him, and taking him out of his waking reality into a reality constructed by his visions. This division between the mundane world and the visionary reality may just be a

sign that he is growing into a sense of there being a shared, external world in which his visions – acceptable when he was a child – are now out of place. As stated before, this idea is undercut by his growing isolation.

As usual, Śāriputra goes to his guru for clarification. He is told: "You are one all men will come to revere...When you dream of eating flesh without restraint, this is probably a sign of rising accomplishment."[38] Like the other visions, this one is auspicious, but there is both immediacy and some ambiguity which the other visions did not contain. Slowly, we have seen Śāriputra's destiny and his present state converge at the same rate at which he takes a more active role in his visionary life. The reverence of all people (*rkang gnyis pa*, Skt. *dvipada*, literally "bipeds"[39]) will come in the future.[40] The dream itself *seems* to point to accomplishments emerging. It is not an established fact, like the portent of his earlier vision of the *sarparāja*, nor a certainty like the result of his vision of the *srung ma*. It is simply a possibility. This does not indicate that something is going wrong. Rather, it points to the fact that Śāriputra is assuming control over his destiny.[41] Both this vision and that of the dog indicated that Śāriputra would achieve religious accomplishment. In the

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[38] *khyed rkang gnyis pa tham cad gyis bkur ba 1 yong ba yin...bag chags med par sha zos pa rmi na / dngos grub 'byung ba'i rtag yin pa 'dra,* 2b5-6.

[39] Note that it is no longer a question of having power over magical beings like *nāga*s and *srung ma*, but mundane people.

[40] The verbal phrase used here is *bkur ba cig yong ba yin.* This is definitely a future construction, but may have the sense of a *potential* future.

[41] In fact, one wonders if the *fait accompli* is now that others will revere him. While Śāriputra has ceased to play a helpless role in his own future, will the rest of humanity be destined to worship him whether they like it or not? This is probably just a sign that of his success in practice, which will draw others toward him of their own accord.

first case, the *srung ma* would bestow it upon him (*ster*). After the vision – not of another entity, but of himself – *siddhi* will still come, though from within himself (*'byung*). This may be why it is less predictable, because the agent has changed from an external deity (who may be more dependable) to himself.

After the guru delivers his interpretation of Śāriputra's dream, a third party interjects, and the reader realizes that the two are not alone. This interloper is described as a "translator" (*lo tsha ba*).[42] He asks his question specifically about the dream, yet many readers may have been asking themselves the same question about all the visions: how did these visions come about? In a sense, this points to some self-awareness on the part of the author. This biography may seem like one contextless hallucination after another, but here we see that the author is not unsympathetic to the reader's frustration. Nonetheless, he refuses to pander to the audience. The question is brusquely dismissed by Śāriputra's guru. "Having asked about anything and everything, then what? Save your ink and paper, which are the companions of cogitation! Nothing is gained thereby."[43] The guru, the narrator tells us, did not want anything to do with such things.[44]

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[42] As this episode occurs in India, I am unclear as to whether or not we should really understand the designation "translator" as having connotation beyond the simple function of translation. Perhaps this designation connotes someone overly attached to scholarly pursuits, a "dry academic." See the definition of a *lo tsā ba* in Dung dkar Blo bzang phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 1973.

[43] *byung tshar dris nas ci byed / snag shog phangs zhing / rnam rtag gi spun 'gro ba las med*, 2b7.

[44] As we will see in the lineage biography, Śāriputra similarly enjoins his student Grags pa rin chen not to write down his meditative experiences. According to Das Gupta, this seeming aversion to scholarship is characteristic of Sahajiyās. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, (Calcutta: KLM, 1976), 53-4. This contrasts with the

The translator is perhaps fitting in the role of whipping-boy. As we have seen in the exoteric biography, and as we will see again in this biography, Śāriputra himself often seeks translation from his guru or visionary interlocutors. Despite his seeming dislike of translators, the guru has been playing this role in the biography, translating Śāriputra's confusing, defamiliarizing visions into something familiar, i.e. knowledge. Without his guru's help, the visions estrange Śāriputra from his world until he gains the ability to translate them himself.

THE NAVEL OF THE WORLD

Śāriputra then seems to skip ahead, and states that, based on some discussions of the future and on past aspirations, he formed the one-pointed resolve to go to Vajrāsana, despite any hindrances that might arise. This passage is reminiscent of the similar episode in the exoteric biography where Śāriputra decides to go to Vajrāsana. With only slight differences, his descriptions of this most holy Buddhist site are identical. It is "the navel of the world."[45] It is the site where all *buddhas* come for their final enlightenment.[46] In both biographies, these are the two significant features of Vajrāsana: its location as the center of the world,

image of Śāriputra, depicted in the exoteric biography, as a scholar of Buddhist philosophy and grammar.

[45] Exoteric: *'dzam bu gling gi lte ba*, 5a1-2; Esoteric: *'dzam bu gling gi lte ba*, 3a1. The Esoteric biography additionally describes it as "the center of the world" (*mi mjed gyi dbus*, 3a1).

[46] Exoteric: *sangs rgyas thams cad 'byung pa'i sa*, 4b3; Esoteric: *dus gsum sangs rgyas thams cad 'byon pa'i gnas*, 3a1-2.

and the phenomenon of all Buddhas coming there for their final enlightenment.[47] Additionally, in the exoteric biography, immediately after Śāriputra described the site thus, and asks his guru's permission to go, the latter underscores this binary characteristic: "Regarding this ordained one [Śāriputra] going to Vajrāsana, I don't dare say to you 'don't go.' It is the navel of the world and the place all *buddhas* come."[48]

The guru's response in the esoteric biography is slightly different, but neatly sums up Śāriputra's experiences at Vajrāsana from the exoteric biography. He begins with the same reluctance as in the exoteric biography. If Śāriputra goes, "This monastery of mine is going to be empty."[49] In the exoteric biography (as described in the previous chapter), Śāriputra's reason for going to Vajrāsana was described as focused on merit-making. It was assumed that his guru had the same idea in mind when he gave his disciple permission to go. Yet in the esoteric biography, merit-making is never mentioned. Nor, for that matter, are his mother and father who weighed so heavily on his mind in the exoteric biography. In the esoteric biography, it is prophecy, omens, and the possibility of Śāriputra spreading the Buddhist *dharma* that win the day. The guru first cites this prophecy:

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[47] On Tibetan debates over whether or not the Bodhgayā Vajrāsana is the only *bodhimaṇḍa*, see J.-U. Sobisch, *Three-vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism: a Comparative Study of Major Traditions from the Twelfth through Nineteenth Centuries*, (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2002), 50-1.

[48] *'dzam bu gling gi lte ba yin cing / sangs rgyas thams cad 'byon pa'i sa*, 5a1-2.

[49] *nga'i dgon pa 'di stong par 'gro ba 'dug ste*, 3a5. Phrased practically verbatim (with the substitution of *'gro bar* for *'gro ba*) in the exoteric biography: *nga'i dgon pa 'di stong par 'gro bar 'dug*, 5a2-3.

In the seat of the *buddhas* at Vajrāsana, the person who is known as "Ocean-born Śari," clears away the enemy *sog po*, known as "turuṣka"! The king of that (people/place?), known as Herumkha, destroyed the upper part of the Vajrāsana *gaṇḍola*, and also razed the surrounding wall (the "iron mountain") and *stūpas*, etc. Plus, he also cut down the *bodhi* tree. At that time, an emanation of Buddhaḍākiṇī[50], whose *vaṃśa* is Candravaṃśa[51] (*zla ba'i rigs*), one known as "U cha," will act as the sponsoress; and one whose *vaṃśa* is *kṣatriya* of *brahmin* descent (*bram ze'i rgyal rigs*),[52] a *bhikṣu* known as "Śari," having given advice on the repairs, it [the *gaṇḍola*, *stūpas*, etc.] will be refurbished. The *bodhi* tree will be reborn immaculately. The teachings of the Buddha will also spread expansively.[53]

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[50] Buddhaḍākiṇī can refer to a specific deity by that name, or a general class of *ḍākiṇī*. See A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1962), 138; M.-T. de Màllmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie du Tântrisme Bouddhique*, (Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve, 1986), 132-3. The *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo* (2032) defines Buddhaḍākiṇī as: *'di yang sangs rgyas chos lugs kyi gsang sngags nas bshad pa'i sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro lha nyi shu rtsa lnga yod pa zhig ste / gtso bo yab yum / yum bzhi / lha mo bcu drug / sgo mo bzhi bcas yin cing / de dag gi sku mdog dang phyag mtshan bzhugs stangs bcas zhib par bshad pa'i yig cha da phan bdag gi ma mthong lags.*

[51] Candravaṃśa and Sūryavaṃśa were two lineages to which the kings of almost all the major dynasties – such as the Pandhyas, Ceras and Coḷas – traced their lineages, especially by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The lineal ancestor of these families was Brahma or Manu (the Sūryavaṃśa line passing through the epic hero Rāma), thus giving a political legitimation of "divine right" to those claiming descent in these lines. See K. Veluthat, "Religious Symbols in Political Legitimation: The Case or Early Medieval South India," *Social Scientist* 21 (1993): 28. There is a genealogy of the Candravaṃsa in the first book of the *Mahābhārata.* Such a lineage was particularly popular among "nouveau *kṣatriyas*" – many of *mleccha* origin – who created origin myths in which their status was confirmed (or created) by a wandering *brahmin.* This may be why Śāriputra is here linked to the brahmin *varṇa.* See Romila Thapar, "Epic and History: Tradition, Dissent and Politics in India," *Past & Present* 125 (1989): 16.

[52] His particular lineage may be here designated as mixed *brahmin-kṣatriya.* As we are not told which line is agnatic, we cannot know if this mix represents the *brāhmaṇī-kṣatriya* Sūta (Rathakāra) or *brāhmaṇa-kṣatriyā* Savarṇa (Abhiṣikta) *varṇa.* Cf. H. Brinkhaus, *Die altindischen Mischkastensysteme*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1978), 208.

[53] *rgya mtshor skyes sha ri zhes bya ba'i skyes bus rdo rje gdan du sangs rgyas kyi brtan pa la / dgra sog po du tu ka zhes bya ba spongs nas / de'i rgyal po he rum kha zhes bya bas/ rdo rje gdan gyi gan rdo la'i phyed yan chod bshig cing / lcag ri dang mchod brten la sogs pa yang bshig par 'gyur la / byang chub kyi shing yang gcod par 'gyur / de'i tshe/ sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro'i sprul pa rigs ni zla ba'i rigs u cha zhes bya bas / yon bdag mo byed cing / rigs bram ze'i*

His guru then states that this prophecy is in accord with those that occur in various *sūtras*. There are also favorable omens, and with this in mind, Śāriputra is sent off to "benefit sentient beings and the teachings of the *buddha*!"[54]

This is how the first section of the esoteric biography ends. In the next, Śāriputra is already (presumably) in Tibet. The "two Vajrāsana" (one Indian and one Tibetan) theory elaborated in the exoteric biography is perhaps implied here by juxtaposing Śāriputra's leaving for Vajrāsana with his arriving in Tibet. His entire career in Vajrāsana, which was elaborated to such a degree in the exoteric biography is condensed to just four prophetic lines in the esoteric biography. We will now turn to a closer examination of this prophecy.

Making a prophecy

We have seen that in both the esoteric and exoteric biographies, Śāriputra's guru is initially reluctant to give him permission to go to Vajrāsana. When he does finally allow his student to go, both biographies are again in agreement. The reluctant permission is given with the admonition that if he goes to Vajrāsana, he should benefit the Buddhist teachings.[55]

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rgyal rigs sha ri zhes bya ba'i dge slong gis / zhig gsos gyi kha ta byas nas bso' bar 'gyur ro / byang chub kyi shing yang yongs su rdzogs skye bar 'gyur ro / sangs rgyas kyi brtan pa yang dar rgyas su 'gyur ro (3a5-3b1).

[54] *sangs rgyas gyi brtan pa dang/ sems can la phan pa'i bya ba gyis cig,* 3b2-3.

[55] Esoteric Biography: *sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa dang/ sems can la phan pa'i bya ba gyis cig* (3b2-3b3); Exoteric Biography: *sku gsung thugs kyi rten bzhengs pa dang/ sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la phan pa'i bya ba byed pa gal che* (5a3-5a4).

The prophecy itself comes about, apparently, via the casting of arrows. The substance of the prophecy is that Śāriputra will be a sort of savior to the Vajrāsana site. Specifically, he will clear away the influence of the Muslim invaders.[56] The destructive activities of the *sog po* are outlined as 1) destroying the upper part of the Mahābodhi gaṇḍola, 2) razing the surrounding wall and enclosed stūpas, 3) cutting down the *bodhi* tree. These activities are all ascribed to the leadership of a king Herumka. The resurrection of the site will be accomplished in a threefold manner, 1) the refurbishing of the buildings, 2) the rebirth of the *bodhi* tree, and 3) the florid spread of the Buddhist teachings. The leadership behind this process is ascribed to a patroness known as "U cha" and Śāriputra.

The parallels with the exoteric biography appear upon Śāriputra's arrival in Vajrāsana. In the exoteric biography, after Śāriputra himself has repaired the Ratnagarbha temple, and makes a pilgrimage to some of the surrounding Buddhist sites, a wave of royal patronage arrives. First mentioned is king *Ciṅgalarāja,[57] the overlord of Magadha. His clan is specifically noted, the Sun (*sūryavaṃśa*; *nyi ma'i rigs*, Exoteric Biography 7a1). Next, the ascension of the queen Ucchadevī (U cha dhi bhī) is stated. She sponsors the rebuilding of the Mahābodhi gaṇḍola, destroyed by a Turuṣka army (7a3-4). Her clan name is not mentioned (as it is in the esoteric biography's prophecy cited above), and she is not linked to king *Ciṅgalarāja, but

[56] Here, the term *sog po* is specifically linked to *turuṣka*. See the discussion of these terms in the previous chapter.

[57] In Tāranātha's *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, the rebuilding of the Mahābodhi temple is ascribed to king Tsam ga la rā dza. See Tāranātha, *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, (Sichuan: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986), 307. See Chapter Three, n. 40.

rather to king *Ajñetasiṃha. Therefore, while it is fairly certain that she is the sponsoress named "U cha" cited in the prophecy, the detail about her clan name cannot be verified.

While she provides the funds, the overseer of the reconstruction (*zhig gsos kyi kha ta byas*, 3b1) is prophesied as a *bhikṣu* named "Śari," obviously Śāriputra.[58] Indeed, in the exoteric biography, Śāriputra states that he gave advice on the rebuilding.[59] Again, the phrases used in the respective biographies are nearly identical.

The data found in this prophecy represents one of the strongest links between the exoteric and esoteric biographies. Yet we should keep in mind that though the data of Śāriputra's relationship to the Mahābodhi temple in the biographies are in accord, there is a large difference in context. The data from the exoteric biography are presented as facts, produced from within a historical setting. The concordant data from the esoteric biography are produced from within a ritual setting – prophecy. The contents of the prophecy represent ahistorical, or potentially historical, phenomena. As usual in this biography, we cannot be sure that the prophecy was actually fulfilled (other than by corroborating the potential represented in this biography with the actuality presented in the exoteric

[58] We may note here as well that in the prophecy, "Śari" is said to be of the Brahmin lineage. As the son of a king (mentioned in the exoteric biography), this would not be the case for Śāriputra. However, in the idealized system of relations that he constructs for himself in the exoteric biography, he is a priest/Brahmin in his relationship to his royal patrons.

[59] *zhig gsos byed pa'i...zhal ta ngas byas*, 7a3-4.

biography). Śāriputra has here not only again taken himself out of history, but has effectively taken the Mahābodhi temple with him.

It is worth taking another look at the structure of the prophecy. The three parts of the second half seems to have a clear internal progression. First, the buildings will be rebuilt, then (seemingly as a result) the *bodhi* tree will spring to life again. Then (again, as a result of what preceded it), the Buddhist teachings will flourish. If these three parts of the prophecy are indeed related in terms of cause and effect – or in terms of a timeline of reconstruction – it may be possible to say the same for the three parts of the first half of the prophecy that deals with the destruction. First, the Mahābodhi temple is halved, then the surrounding wall and *stūpas* are razed. Next, the *bodhi* tree is cut down. Finally, there is perhaps an unsaid fourth part corresponding to the end of the reconstruction: the fate of Buddhism. If the result of the rebuilding of structures and the regeneration of the *bodhi* tree is the spread of Buddhism, it is possible that the Herumkha's destruction of the concrete (temples, walls, and *stūpas*) and natural (*bodhi* tree) representations of Buddhism ended in the perceived destruction or withdrawal of Buddhism itself.[60]

Herumkha's progress of destruction is set in three distinct parts. The first two will be familiar from the previous chapter. First, he destroys the center of

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[60] Buddhist cosmology holds the belief that at the penultimate stage in the decline of Buddhism, the religion will only exist in terms of its physical structures, the so-called counterfeit or fabricated (*pratirūpaka*) *dharma.* See chapter one and Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 50-2. The loss of these structures is a sign of the end of Buddhism, and therefore we can see the anxiety over the destruction of temples as embodying the concern over the very survival of Buddhism. This may also echo the prophecy in the exoteric biography which linked Buddhism to the longevity of people.

Vajrāsana. Second, he destroys the boundary wall. This fits very well with the center-and-periphery model that was stressed in the exoteric biography. The cutting down of the *bodhi* tree was never overtly mentioned there, however. Nor does Śāriputra describe it in the esoteric biography. Indeed, in the esoteric biography Śāriputra's relationship to Vajrāsana is held totally within the bounds of this prophecy.

We saw in our discussion of the exoteric biography that the *bodhi* tree was linked very closely to the Mahābodhi temple. At times, the tree seemed to be within or on top of temple, to the degree that we wondered if Śāriputra was sure of the geographic relationship between these two entities. In the prophecy, it is clear that the tree and the temple are two distinct entities, though with fates joined to each other, and the fate of Buddhism in general. In broad strokes, this is a similar message to the one in the exoteric biography, wherein the beginning of the resurgence of Buddhism in Vajrāsana was marked by the rebuilding of its monuments.

Śāriputra serves as the architect of these renovations, and thus of Buddhism's resurgence. Seeing this, his guru gives him permission to go to Vajrāsana, "to benefit the teachings of the Buddha." This role was prefigured in the scene immediately preceding the prophecy, where Śāriputra is sent out to find a new pole for the monastery's prayer flags. He returns with an eighty fathom (about

450 feet) tree and two thousand people to carry it.[61] He plants it in the monastery grounds, and thus becomes the symbol of the regeneration and spread of Buddhism.

FORGETTING AŚOKA

For all the importance of the Vajrāsana site as a representation of the center of Buddhism in the exoteric and esoteric biographies, there is no mention at all of Aśoka and his role in building the Mahābodhi temple marking the place of the Buddha's – all *buddhas*' – enlightenment. This seems strange, especially as the link between the Mahābodhi temple and Aśoka was argued quite forcefully in preceding chapters. This begs the question, in what context does Śāriputra mention the Mahābodhi temple at all? In the exoteric biography, the Mahābodhi temple has two contexts: visionary and mundane. In the mundane context, it is a broken edifice being rebuilt. In the visionary context, it is seemingly outside of time and history. Here, there are multiple centers, and there is always something above the temple, the *bodhi* tree. In the esoteric biography, the two contexts of the exoteric biography are combined: the Mahābodhi has been destroyed, with a refurbishment prophesied, but not yet realized.

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[61] Eighty fathoms (*'dom*) would roughly equal four hundred eighty feet. A tree of such length might well require two thousand people to carry it. An early history of the Svayambhūnātha *caitya*, *Dus gsum sang rgyas tham cad kyi thugs kyi rten 'phags pa shing kun dkar chag*, reports that the new *yaṣṭi* was seventy-two *'dom* (about four hundred twenty feet), with a circumference of seven *'dom* (forty-two feet). This should give some indication that neither the length of the tree found by Śāriputra, nor the number of people required to carry it, may have been exaggerated. Of course, it may be doubted if such trees could be carried, or even found, as they would represent two of the tallest trees on earth.

This characterization of the temple is in sharp distinction to traditional descriptions of the Vajrāsana site as something also existing outside of time, but for the reason that it cannot be destroyed. The *bodhi* tree is also distinct from the temple in that it can regenerate. The Aśokan temple is historically contingent. It is not an ahistorical fact like the Vajrāsana site, or an organic growth like the tree. It is dependant on a set of relationships, ultimately human inspired.

In these biographies, Śāriputra is in a way trying to sunder the meaning of the Vajrāsana site from the meaning of the Mahābodhi temple. He lives more in an ahistorical, visionary reality. In this reality, as long as there is a Vajrāsana, Buddhism is intact, and there cannot not be a Vajrāsana, since it is indestructible. However, he cannot deny that with the destruction of the temple (and walls, *stūpa*s, etc.), the place for Buddhism has been destroyed as well. This is place in terms of geographical location as well as place in a hierarchy and system of status relationships.[62] To reinforce the link with Aśoka would only be to announce the magnitude of Buddhism's failure, the great status or place which it no longer occupied.

This is not to claim that Śāriputra had forgotten Aśoka, or his place within the system of relationships which constituted Vajrāsana as a place. The role of "Aśoka" is integral to the Vajrāsana system, but this role can be played by others, as we saw in previous chapters. In the Śāriputra biographies, this role is filled by Ucchadevī. In the entire rebuilding process, the only connection of person to monument worth mentioning in both biographies is her patronage of the

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[62] Cf. J.Z. Smith, *To Take Place*, 45-50.

Mahābodhi renovation. In fact, it is the only connection that must be mentioned. Other monuments may have been rebuilt by Śāriputra himself or had other sponsors, but the Mahābodhi temple had to be patronized by royalty to fulfill the Aśokan precedent. In the exoteric biography, Ucchadevī's role is somewhat couched in the middle of the patronage of other kings, such as *Ciṅgalarāja. Ucchadevī is described in terms of her king, as the chief queen of *Ajñetasiṃha. However, it is clear that she is the patroness of the rebuilding.

In contrast, the only royal patron mentioned in the esoteric biography is Ucchadevī. In the prophecy, she is described as an emanation of Buddhaḍākiṇī, who may function as a tantric counterpart to the Aśokan *cakravartin.* Buddhaḍākiṇī is found with Buddhaḍāka in center of the *maṇḍala* of the six *cakravartin*s, as well as being the consort of Heruka in the form of Mahāmāyā.[63] She therefore functions in the tantric *maṇḍala* much the same way as a *cakravartin*. While she may be the manifestation of Buddhaḍākiṇī, she has a very concrete role in the narrative. Her role as ruler and patron is prophesied, just as Aśoka was prophesied.[64] Her reconstruction is opposed to Herumkha's destruction. She is also the secular, ruling, counterpart to Śāriputra, thus fulfilling the *cakravartin-buddha* relationship. This relationship takes place in prophecy, history, and the tantric idiom of

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[63] She is also found in the east of the Vajrayoginī *maṇḍala.* See de Màllmann, *Introduction a l'Iconographie du Tântrisme Bouddhique*, 132-3. Vajrayoginī is often understood to be the "ḍākiṇī of all buddhas" (*sarvabuddhaḍākiṇī*). "She is the supreme manifestation of a Buddhist ḍākinī, the preeminent vajra-yoginī, and the summation of all tantric female deities" (English, *Vajrayoginī*, 47).

[64] Recall that Śāriputra overlaid the Aśokan *cakravartin* and tantric (Vairocana) *cakravartin* in his replica of the Mahābodhi temple in Beijing.

buddhaḍākiṇī-buddha. It is their relationship across these idioms that signals the prophesied resurgence of Buddhism.

The clarity of her importance in the esoteric biography, as opposed to the vagueness in the exoteric biography, is one of the salient differences between the two biographies. In the exoteric biography, the only female character of any importance is Śāriputra's mother, the rest of his interlocutors being men. In the esoteric biography, however, women are featured in greater numbers and importance.

Change of scene: Tibet

Without his guru's command to go to Vajrāsana to help sentient beings, the first part of Śāriputra's biography abruptly ends. The second part of the esoteric biography begins with another homage to the gurus, and is given the title *The Secret Biography of Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra, Who Came to Tibet.* However, in the opening scene, he has apparently already arrived in Tibet. The narrative has thus effectively skipped over his departure from his homeland, all actions in Vajrāsana, and anything that may have happened between India and Tibet.[65] As stated above, this elision may have the effect of linking the Vajrāsana site to Tibet, both as both India and Tibet contain a Vajrāsana according to the exoteric biography. This is not the last time in this biography that India and Tibet are overlaid.

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[65] This includes most importantly his activities in Nepal. From reading the historical literature mentioning Śāriputra, it seems that it was during his tenure in Nepal that the eyes of Tibet, and possibly China, turned toward him. This period will be discussed in chapter six.

The title of this section, other than a single reference to 'Chings phu later in the text, stands as the only reference to Tibet in this manuscript. The other geographical references are either indeterminate, such as the "secret cave" (*gsang brag phug*), or what might be termed allegorical, visionary, or internal. Regarding the latter, references to Indian sites are still made, but either mapped on to Tibetan sites – as is the case with 'Chings phu – or made part of an internal geography.

It is worth noting that this practice is consistent with the first part of the esoteric biography, where the majority of the action took place in Śāriputra's visionary world. References to "real" locations, such as Vajrāsana, were made in the context of prophetic utterances, and therefore somewhat removed from mundane reality. The exoteric biography presented more detailed spatial references, whereas these are largely absent in the esoteric biography. The esoteric biography, as we have seen, is grounded in time. In the last section, all time references were in relation to Śāriputra himself, in that we were just given his age at the time of each major vision. In this section, we are given more impersonal – that is, calendrical – dates. This system of time reference is not necessarily more precise, but it does form part of a shared system of reference, in contrast to statements of age.

While the strength of Śāriputra's visionary reality does not wane in this section, we can see that he seems to be gaining more control over it. He no longer stumbles across the threshold between his mundane and visionary worlds. His forays into the latter are done purposefully. As we shall see, his visionary skills develop as he is able to start interpreting the visions himself. In addition, the place

or status of his visionary interlocutors continues to rise. As we saw in the last section, he moved from seeing snakes to *nāgas* to *rakṣasas*. In this section, he will meet with bodhisattvas, buddhas, and tantric deities. The first of these is the reappearance of the white-clad boy.

TOPSY-TURVY *MAṆḌALAS*

There has been no prior mention of the white-clad boy in the esoteric biography. Readers familiar with the exoteric biography will recall his presence in an important, possibly visionary, climactic moment in Vajrāsana. There, he became the catalyst for Śāriputra's leaving Vajrāsana for the "second Vajrāsana" in the north. Because this esoteric biography omits his time in Vajrāsana, we never get to witness this scene.[66] Here, the boy appears while Śāriputra is in meditative equipoise. He had gone to the Gsang brag phug cave on the seventeenth day of the fifth (lunar) month, and after a week entered into the meditative equipoise during which the white-clad boy appears.

In this episode, the boy's characteristics are made slightly more specific than in the exoteric biography. There, he is simply called "the white boy" (*skyes bu dkar po*). Here, he is described as "one having the appearance of a boy, clad in white

[66] The omission of his time in Vajrāsana is important for a host of reasons. Most pertinent to this scene is the sudden jump in Śāriputra's ritual praxis. When we left him in India, he was making unknown exertions, but now he is comfortably reciting mantras and constructing *maṇḍalas*. As we noted in relation to the exoteric biography, while in Vajrāsana, he seems to take up tantric practice. This episode marks the first mention of tantric ritual activity in the esoteric biography.

clothing."[67] This description reinforces the idea that this is neither an actual nor an ordinary boy, but the appearance of something greater.[68] In addition, this description reflects the fact that Śāriputra has developed the ability to recognize the appearance of such a deity as something distinct from ordinary reality, in a way that he could not when he saw the phantom dog.

The white-clad boy gives Śāriputra a rosary (*phreng ba; mālā*), with which he is ordered to recite his mantras. Then, a white-clad boy commands him to make *maṇḍalas*. This boy is described as "a white boy" (*skyes bu dkar po cig*, 4a3) in the same way as in the exoteric biography. The indefinite article *cig* may imply that this is a different episode, separated from the first by an indefinite amount of time. We cannot be sure, however, that this is not the appearance of another white-clad boy. In the exoteric biography, the initial appearance of this boy was accompanied by the indefinite article (*skyes bu dkar po...cig*, 11a3), but all subsequent references were attached to the definite article (*skyes bu dkar po de*, 11a6, 11b5). Thus, a reader could assume that all references were to the same boy. This is not necessarily the case in the esoteric biography. In this biography, each episode seems internally consistent, but does not seemingly bear any relation to other episodes. In this way, the reader never gains a sense of familiarity with Śāriputra's visionary world.

[67] *skyes bu mtshan ldan gos dkar po gyon pa cig*, 4a2.

[68] It is interesting to note that in Tāranātha's biography of Buddhaguptanātha, the latter encounters a white boy at Bsam yas, who is described as "lord of the place." Their interaction is not described to any meaningful extent. As noted in several examples in the preceding chapter, the figure of the "white boy" is in fact ubiquitous in Tibetan biographical literature, always indicating Avalokiteśvara. See Tāranātha, *Grub chen Bu ddha gu pta'i rnam thar rje btsun nyid kyi zhal lung las gzhan du rang rtog gi dri mas ma sbags pa'i yi ge yang dag pa'o*, 564.

Indeed, it often seems that Śāriputra is continually surprised by the events and appearances of this world himself. Although everything is internal to him, he maintains very little control over what is happening.

As in the exoteric biography, the white-clad boy offers challenges and orders to Śāriputra, but ultimately represents his guide. In this episode, he orders Śāriputra to make *maṇḍala*s in an openly provocative manner. Śāriputra's responses are equally forceful, and the whole dialogue is conducted in the imperative. Śāriputra's responses to the white-clad boy demonstrates his confidence and pride in his ritual abilities as he tells his challenger to "sit and watch" while he executes the construction of a *maṇḍala*. Yet at the point of making the *maṇḍala*, he finds that he cannot place the materials properly. He is somehow impelled to put everything backwards. He tries again, and again inverts the *maṇḍala*. Finally, the white-clad boy shows him how to do it, and he is successful.

On the one hand, this scene could be viewed as Śāriputra's growing into his visionary world. He is now much more an active participant than in his previous visions, during which he is more of a passive witness to the unfolding of his internal reality. Here, he recognizes the dream/vision, engages in dialogue with his visionary interlocutors, and performs actions. He is not fully in possession of himself, as he cannot make the *maṇḍala* in the proper way, and he may not have intended to yell at the white-clad boy. As we shall see in the next chapter,

Śāriputra was regarded as an expert in dream yoga, so this episode may represent a stage in the development of his facility with this skill.[69]

On the other hand, two aspects of this vision point to a deeper meaning. The first is that in a biography that is generally very terse in its descriptions, a relatively long section is devoted to how completely backwards Śāriputra gets the *maṇḍala*. It is completely inverted: "while making the offering, the things meant for the right, I put on the left; the things meant for the left, I put on the right; what was meant for the front, I put in the back; what was meant for the back, I put in the front. I was being impelled to put everything backwards."[70] Everything is topsy-turvy. The second aspect is that this is no ordinary ritual, but a *maṇḍala*, a depiction of an ideally ordered world. The fact that Śāriputra feels himself powerless to do anything but set this world on its head is significant. He knows how the *maṇḍala* should look, and tries to act in a manner that will result in the formation of a correct *maṇḍala*, yet the result is always an inversion of his intention.

This helplessness may be related to Śāriputra's reaction to encountering Vajrāsana in the exoteric biography, as described in the previous chapter. He knows that Vajrāsana is the center of the world, the place all *buddhas* go for

[69] This sort of repetition is not altogether unusual in biographical literature. In Tāranātha's biography of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha, the *mahāsiddha*-to-be records an episode in which, trying to find a *ḍākiṇī*, he finds himself constantly heading away from one house, only to find himself in front of the same house in the evening. Cf. D. Templeman, trans., *Tāranātha's Life of Kṛṣṇācārya/Kāṇha*, (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1989), 10.

[70] *mchod pa 'bul gyin 'dug pas/ g.yas kyi de dag g.yon du 'jog/ g.yon gyi de dag g.yas su 'jog/ mdun gyi de rgyab du 'jog/ rgyab gyi de mdun du 'jog/ thams cad shul rjes nas 'jog gin 'jug go*, 4a5-6.

enlightenment, making it a maximally auspicious and holy site. The contrast with the reality of the destruction wrought on the Vajrāsana complex could not be more stark. It is, in fact, the opposite of how things should be. If laying one brick in Vajrāsana brings inestimable good fortune, how could so many temples have been destroyed? Śāriputra's experience, then, is opposed to the order of a proper cosmos as symbolized by the *maṇḍala*. Either the order of the world is inverted, or Śāriputra's understanding of it is. That is, as in so many cases of inversion, his "cosmological conviction is shattered."[71] Either way, he is alienated from the ordered world, an alienation that is heightened by his presence in Tibet, a land entirely different from his home.

All is not lost for Śāriputra, since with the help of the white-clad boy, he is able to make the proper *maṇḍala*. The words used in the narrative are "I was able to put the deities in the *maṇḍala*,"[72] that is, he made the *maṇḍala* work. Simply making *maṇḍala*s is not enough; one must rely on holy beings (the white-clad boy being a stand-in for Avalokiteśvara) to make them function.

SHIFTING VISIONS OF THE GURU

Our hero is still not done having his familiar world defamiliarized. In his next vision, he is thoroughly unhinged. This episode occurs one month after the previous vision. Now, he sees his root guru atop an east-facing throne. He is about

[71] J.Z. Smith, "Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?" in *Map is not Territory*, 170. This article also is useful for understanding inversion in terms of alienation and rebellion.

[72] *ngas rmi lam du dkyil 'khor gyi nang du lha thams cad bzhengs*, 4a7.

to give a Mañjuśrī empowerment to a queen and her son. The guru requests a golden sword from her, which she does not have. The guru has one in his treasury, and Śāriputra goes to fetch it, taking the key to the treasury from the attendant. The guru bestows the empowerment, but the prince is too young to appreciate its meaning. The queen urges Śāriputra to take the empowerment as well. In fact, she tells him that she requested the empowerment for Śāriputra's benefit, not that of her son (whom she knew was too young to understand its import). When Śāriputra receives the empowerment, the guru gives him the empowering sword as well as the mantra. The scene seems very auspicious for Śāriputra, with the keys to his guru's treasury and a queen as his patron. Indeed, it is reminiscent of the prophecy from this biography and his time in Vajrāsana from the exoteric biography.

After receiving the empowerment, he heads north to a town of five colored houses. He goes to the headman's house, sees rooms full of scripture there, and finally meets the beautiful, youthful headwoman. Approaching her, he asks someone nearby who she is. "You mean you don't know?" is the answer. Śāriputra, apparently perturbed at someone answering a question with a question responds, "Didn't I ask because I don't know?" This seems to provoke his interlocutors, who states forcefully, "That is your own guru's consort (*phyag rgya mo*)." This is Śāriputra's moment of shock, when words fail him momentarily. "I *what*??" or "What do I say?" is his response, either to his interlocutor or to the reader. Like with his moment of shock in the exoteric biography, precipitated by another interlocutor, the white-clad boy, stating that there are two Vajrāsanas, Śāriputra

looks for an explanation, someway of translating this unfamiliar experience into his familiar system of understanding. This explanation is not forthcoming.

Resisting another shattered conviction, Śāriputra states, "My guru is well versed in the *vinaya* and perfectly upholds the moral precepts (*tshul khrims; śīla*), so how could a consort (*mudrā*) have come?"[73] His interlocutor responds simply, forcefully, and perhaps slightly condescendingly, "This is something you didn't know. As for this one, she is a secret mother (i.e. consort)."[74] As in the exoteric biography, Śāriputra's search for explanation is met simply with repetition.

These moments of shock are of critical importance in Śāriputra's biographies. They are situations in which he is given a choice to either accept a different order of reality, or stay in his mundane reality. These situations may occur within a context of tantric practice, but it is not really a question of tantra *per se*, as in both biographies he has already been engaging in tantric practice well before these situations occur. In the exoteric biography, he is then launched into a visionary reality in which there are two Vajrāsanas. In the esoteric biography, he is already living in a world of visions. The point that is unacceptable to him is similar, however. It is a point of doctrine. Buddhist doctrine states that there can only be one Vajrāsana, and this is what he must abandon in the exoteric biography. Buddhist doctrine in the form of the *vinaya* code states that a monk must be

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[73] *nga'i bla mas 'dul ba yang dag par mkhyen/ tshul khrims rnam dag bsrungs pa la/ phyag rgya mo ga na 'ong byas pas*, 5a4-5.

[74] *'di khyed rang gis ma shes pa yin mod/ 'di ni gsang pa'i yum yin mod*, 5a5-6.

celibate.[75] Even while engaged in tantric rituals, Śāriputra clings to this point. This is what must be abandoned.

With regard to the purity of his guru, a fundamental shift in view must take place. His reaction to the news that his guru has a consort is initially rejected because that would mean he had sullied his vows. In this case, it is the proper upholding of his ethical code that makes his guru respected. Breaking those vows would entail a loss of purity. The change that Śāriputra must accept, if not understand, is that his guru is pure by nature. His upholding of the precepts of a monk is unsullied as a result of his pure nature, not the other way around. For this reason, he can maintain a consort as well as his monastic vows without contradiction.

That this is the case can be seen from the result of Śāriputra's acceptance of this new state of affairs. Overhearing his discussion with his interlocutor, the headwoman approaches Śāriputra, makes polite conversation, and asks after the health of his guru. Śāriputra answers her, stating that he has come from his guru's presence with the guru's own sword. She replies that it is a very auspicious thing if he is worthy of his guru's sword. Śāriputra awakes with the clear feeling that his guru is Mañjuśrī himself and his consort is Upakeśinī.[76] For the remainder of the

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[75] For Tibetan reflections on reconciling the *vinaya* with tantric practice, see Sobisch, *Three-Vow Theories in Tibetan Buddhism*, 280.

[76] Both feature in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, where Upakeśinī is situated in the southeast of the *maṇḍala*. See de Màllmann, *Indroduction a l'Iconographie du Tântrisme Bouddhique*, 385. This pairing is significant for Newar Buddhism as according to the *Svāyambhūpurāṇa*, Mañjuśrī travels from Pañcaśīrṣaparvata (later identified with Wutai Shan) to Svayambhū with Upakeśinī and Keśinī. See W.W. Smith and Mana Bajra Bajracharya, ed. and trans., *Mythological History of the Nepal Valley from Svayambhu Purana*, (Kathmandu: Avalok, 1978), 10.

biography, all Śāriputra's visions are of bodhisattvas and buddhas. It is for this reason that this episode should be read as indicating Śāriputra's fundamental shift in how he views his guru. This vision has forced Śāriputra from seeing his guru as a person who is worthy of respect because of his upholding a set of moral codes associated with a monk, to a bodhisattva who takes the mere appearance of an ordinary person. The actions of a bodhisattva like Mañjuśrī cannot be judged in the same terms as the actions of an ordinary person. No one could accuse Mañjuśrī of sullying his vows by consorting with Upakeśinī. This could be called an advancement of Śāriputra's pure perception, but whatever the case, he has gained the ability to see bodhisattvas in an undisguised way. Previous to this, his visionary interlocutors were always in the form of humans or animals. The key to this shift in perception was the reevaluation of his guru as a bodhisattva.

A VISIT FROM TĀRĀ

His next vision after this is of Tārā in her dark-red form. She appears to him, and seems to utter a short eulogy of herself to Śāriputra. Her form in the eulogy is the same as the form in which she appears to Śāriputra: her sitting posture is that of *vajraparyaṅka*, with one hand in the threatening *mudrā*, and the other closed in a fist at her heart. None of the records we have relating to Śāriputra, whether literary or historical, mention this particular form of Tārā.[77]

[77] It should be noted here that there is a Tārā *sādhana* in the cycle of *sādhana*s called the *Mitra khrid drug*, which is mentioned in Śāriputra's lineage biography and some historical materials. We know that the texts of this cycle is extant in the 'Bras spungs library, but as of now only the titles of these works are accessible. See

The importance of Tārā (in her various forms) to Śāriputra should not be underestimated. She appears three times in this biography. In addition, the two practice texts attributed to Śāriputra in the *Bstan 'gyur* are dedicated to different forms of Tārā. Finally, later in the biography, Śāriputra encounters Jambhala and Śākyamuni alongside Tārā, but it is to Tārā that he bows and offers praise.

THE HOLY LAND WITHIN

The second time he sees Tārā is within his meditative equipoise during his stay in 'Chings phu, in the hills near Bsam yas monastery.[78] The place is no less

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Chapter Five for more details. Therefore, we cannot be sure if the Tārā of the *Mitra khrid drug* is similar to the Tārā appearing here.

[78] A more common, though not necessarily more correct, spelling of this location is Mchims phu. According to Meisezahl's index, 'Chings phu is a variant spelling of Mching bu as the place where part of the Avataṃsaka sūtra was hidden (Cf. R.O. Meisezahl, *Die große Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach alter Tradition*, (Sankt Augustin: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1981), 401: "wo während der Verfolgung des Buddhismus ein Teil des Avataṃsaka in einem irdenen Gefäß versteckt war, 314.1.3."). The citation is *mching bu'i rdza la sbas* (Meisezahl, *idem*, 314.1.3), most likely referring to Bsam yas Mchims phu given the context. It may be of interest that this is nearly the same phrasing as from a passage in the *Sba bzhed: mchims phu rdza la sbas.* See R.A. Stein, *Une chronique ancienne de bSam-yas: sBa bžed*, (Paris: Institut des hautes études chinoises, 1961), 9.14. Meisezahl also gives 'Ching phu as a variant of 'Chings phu (213.2.2, 402), which is helpful when then turning to the *Dba' bzhed* for clarification. In this manuscript, there is mention of both 'Ching bu nam ra (4a) and 'Ching bu (4b). As pointed out by Wangdu and Diemberger, the *Sba bzhed* renders the 'Ching bu nam ra site as Mchims phu na ral (*Sba bzhed* B (1)), Mchims phu ne ral (*Sba bzhed* A (1)), Mchims phu Nam ral (*Sba bzhed* C (1)). As they point out, 'Ching phu is close to the orthography of the Skar chung inscription, which gives Mching phu, and that, while the most popular form, the spelling Mchims phu arises from a spurious association of this site with the Mchims clan. See Pasang Wangdu and Hildegard Diemberger, *dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000), 34 n. 57. Note that none of the commonly available dictionaries will be helpful in solving this riddle. The exclusive meaning of *mching bu* in the TTC (846) is a valuable stone. In the dictionary of S.C. Das,

noteworthy than the bodhisattva who visits, as this is the first mention of a geographical location where Śāriputra actually resides. It will be recalled that the only previous place name cited was Vajrāsana, but this place was never actualized. It existed in Śāriputra's mind, in his wish to travel there, as well as in a prophecy. While we know from the exoteric biography that he did go to Vajrāsana, within the narrative scheme of the esoteric biography, Vajrāsana is a site that is more virtual than actual.

In this episode, Śāriputra's actual place becomes virtual. 'Chings phu is first mentioned as a "*piṭha*" (*gnas*), a mountain like *Gṛdhrakūta.* Here, Tārā – in an unspecified form – visits him and commands him to help sentient beings. The name of this location is then immediately repeated in conjunction with another vision. Again, 'Chings phu is likened to *Gṛdhrakūta*, this time placed to the northeast of a mountain analogous to *Rājagṛha.*

The transformation of the actual 'Chings phu into the virtual *Gṛdhrakūta*, located in relation to other Indian *piṭha* sites, is not so much a process as a *fait accompli*. Śāriputra's residence for these episodes is simply called "a mountain like *Gṛdhrakūta*."[79] It is only when the cave in which he is staying is named that the

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[*Tibetan-English Dictionary*, (Delhi: Book Faith, 1995)], *mching bu* (var. *'ching bu*) is defined as a glass ornament. *Mching bu*, without variant, is also cited as a Tibetan place name, without further reference, and as a precious stone. Jäschke, however, defines *'ching bu* as a glass jewel, then as a place name *Bsam yas 'ching bu*, citing the *Ma 'ong lung bstan.* See H.A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary: With Special Reference to the Prevailing Dialects*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975), 169). As we see, this spelling is the same as that given in the *Dba' bzhed.* Therefore, we can be quite confident that 'Chings phu of our manuscript refers to the Bsam yas site.

[79] *bya rgod phung po dang mtshungs pa'i ri*, 6a3; *bya rgod phung po'i ri dang mtshungs pa*, 6a5.

reader knows that this is in 'Chings phu. In this way, we can state that in this biography, the reader is looking into a thoroughly virtualized world. The only means by which we know that he was, in the mundane world, in 'Chings phu is that the name of his cave "leaked" this information.[80]

We are then left with the problem of interpreting this transformation from 'Chings phu to Gṛdhrakūta. As we have seen in this esoteric biography, Śāriputra is increasingly shutting himself off from the mundane world, and confining himself to a visionary reality. That reality has never taken on the identity of an Indian *piṭha* site, however. In India, he was displaced from his worldly surroundings into a world of supernatural creatures. In Tibet, it is possible that the same mechanism of displacement can move him from the unfamiliar world of Tibet to the more familiar world of India, or the ideal world of Indian Buddhist sacred geography. This movement only becomes possible because he is no longer in India, and therefore is not bound by the conflict of real and ideal worlds colliding in the same place and time. It is only be leaving the real environment of Gṛdhrakūta that he is able to find the ideal Gṛdhrakūta.[81]

[80] I am here employing Carlos Ginzburg's idea that "texts have leaks." Although one might say that, especially in this esoteric biography, everything should be taken as a phantasmagoria, through these "leaks" we are able to anchor ourselves in a historical Tibetan landscape. By paying attention to these anchors, we can then establish some *points de caption*, which may serve as reference points as we peruse the extremely varied historical and literary material pertaining to Śāriputra's life.

[81] As stated in the last chapter, this is a possible reading of his trip to the "second Vajrāsana." At that time, he left the mundane Mahābodhi site in search of an "equivalent, but better" place in the north.

The mechanism which has led to this represents not an advancement of his tendency to lose himself in a virtual phantasmagoria, but rather a merging of this tendency with his other characteristic – also noted in the previous chapter – of looking for translation. Śāriputra repeatedly looks to his divine interlocutors for explanations of the shocking phenomena that occur around him. These explanations are never given to him. Yet here we see this need for translation, of explanation into his terms, come through. In Tibet, the landscape is foreign, but he translates it into his own referential structure by likening it to Indian sites. At the same time, he idealizes these places (both the "source" Tibetan sites, as well as the "target" Indian sites).

Śāriputra's new schema is advanced as a result of his experience in the 'Chings phu cave. Just before dawn on the fourth day of the fourth month of the sheep year[82], he has a peak spiritual experience:

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[82] Probably May 14, 1403 (water-female-sheep), but also conceivably May 13, 1415 (wood-female-sheep). Note here that as the biography progresses, the author gradually gives more temporal references. In this biography, his first recorded appearance in Tibet was on the seventeenth day of the fifth month of an unnamed year. All following locations in time are relative to this one. Now, a new reference point gives us the animal (but not the element) year as well. Subsequent time locators will contain more information. As to whether this is 1403 or 1415, see the discussion in chapter six. Presuming that the events of the biography are in chronological order (as all the explicit time references indicate), we can state that the first recorded incident in Tibet occurred at least a year prior to 1403 or 1415. This will be important when discussing the statement in the *Myang chos 'byung* that Śāriputra arrived in the Myang valley, Gtsang in 1414, and the presumption by scholars that this represents his first stop in Tibet on his way to China at the behest of the emperor. In the discussion below, I read the same historical material in a different way, which accounts for the dating in the historical and biographical materials.

We cannot be certain which calendar the narrator is referring to, though we can safely rule out the *Mtshur lugs* and *Phugs lugs* calendars, as they did not start until c. 1447, by which time we can be fairly certain this biography was written.

> The Mahāpaṇḍita Dharmarāja, at the time of dwelling equanimously in the meditative equipoise which is free from elaborations and dwelling in the attainment of one-pointedness (*ekāgra*)...saw impermanence and non-self and everything as without essence.[83]

From within this meditative equipoise, he meets the white-clad boy again (who is again attributed the indefinite article *cig* ("a white-clad boy"), as opposed to the definite *de* ("the white-clad boy"). The boy makes only one statement before he disappears. He states, "Concerning what is called 'The Whole World,' as well as what are called 'Vajrāsana, Śrī Nālandā, and Mahābodhi,' [they] exist within the body of each person."[84] As a result of his quick exit, both the reader and (presumably) Śāriputra are left to ponder this unexplained statement.

On one level, this represents a not unheard of reference to the *vajrakāya* of a tantric practitioner, in which all the *piṭha* sites of India are located. A sacred geography is mapped onto a spiritual adept's subtle body.[85] The white-clad boy seems to go a step further in his declaration, however. It is not just the usual sites

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See. D. Schuh, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Kalenderrechnung*, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1973), 82.

[83] *mi rtag pa dang / bdag med pa dang / thams cad snying po med par gzigs nas / rtse 1 tu bsgrub pa bzhugs pa'i dus su...chos rje paṇḍita chen pa / spros pa thams cad bral ba'i ting nge 'dzin la bsnyom par bzhugs pa'i dus su*, 6a6-7.

[84] *'jig rten pa thams cad zer ba la / rdo rje gdan dang:__shrī na len dra / ma hā bho dhi zer ba yang / rang re'i lus kyi nang na yod pa yin mod*, 6a7-6b1.

[85] This is discussed most recently in Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 86-92. See also R.A. Stein, *Grottes-matrices et lieux saints de la déesse en Asie orientale*, (Paris: École Française d'extrême-orient, 1988), 37-49; Abdol-Hamid Sardar-Afkhani, "The Buddha's Secret Gardens: End-times and Hidden Lands in Tibetan Imagination," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2001), 18ff. This homology was not exclusive to Buddhists, but was used by the Nātha yogis, Śaivas, and others (cf. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 197). This commonality between the Buddhists and Nāthas is of some interest considering Śāriputra's particular lineage.

of Indian sacred geography, such as Nālandā and Vajrāsana, which are interior to oneself; it is the entire world. After this, there are no more references to Indian *piṭha* sites, or any geographical references at all apart from those included in people's names. It is possible that Śāriputra's brief foray into translation was abruptly ended by the appearance of the white-clad boy (whose appearances tend to have this effect).

However, it can be said that Śāriputra's efforts to transform the mundane (Tibetan) world into an ideal (Indian Buddhist) world, and then to see the entire world as inhabiting his own body, agrees with some of the themes we pointed out with regard to the exoteric biography. There, Śāriputra used metaphor to merge his own life with that of Indian Buddhism in general. His own fate and actions ran parallel to the fate of Buddhism. When he arrives in Vajrāsana with nothing, he sees that place as also destitute. His fortunes and the fortune of Buddhism in Vajrāsana rose together. Here in the esoteric biography, he is essentially doing the same thing. First, he sees the Indian Buddhist world as surrounding him, its location relative to himself. Next, the white-clad boy tells him that the entire world (Buddhist and otherwise, presumably) is embodied by him. Therefore, their fates are linked. The white-clad boy's declaration goes a step further and implies that this identification is available to all people, or anyone who has reaches Śāriputra's level of accomplishment. What this embodiment actually means in terms of traveling to *piṭha* sites or more mundane places is left unexplained.[86]

[86] While the concept of moving to different locations via the *vajrakāya* has been mentioned by many scholars, there has been little study of what this process actually entails, such as how much of the experience is real, and how much is

There follows a curious passage in which a *lotsāba*[87] appears at Śāriputra's door. Poking his head in, he asks about the conceptual elaboration concerning the sky. Śāriputra dismisses the question by simply stating that everything is without elaboration, and not realizing this results in the *lotsā ba*'s confusion. He then settles back into his meditative equipoise.

A GRAND VISION

In this meditative equipoise, the glowing figure of the Lord Śākyamuni himself appears before Śāriputra, adorned in his monk robes. To Śāriputra's right comes yellow Jambhala holding his mongoose. On his left arose Tārā, bedecked in jewels.[88] The thought occurs to him that he should worship these deities in some way. He addresses and supplicates Tārā first. He begs her to liberate all being from

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virtual. For example, is a religious adept considered to have gone to the actual/real *piṭha* site in a non-physical body, or to an idealized version of this place, which is located within his body? As we know from the travels of Urgyen pa and others, the bodies of tantric and non-tantric deities were mapped onto the Tibetan and Indian landscapes. Individual mountains and caves were also considered to be the *vajra* bodies of deities, which individual adepts could enter. Cf. Stein, *Grottes-matrices et lieux saints de la déesse en Asie orientale*, 37-49. Finally, the isolated practitioner could be considered to embody the same *piṭha* sites. How these various world views are coordinated has not been studied in any theoretical depth. One nortably exception to this is T. Sugiki, "The Structure and Traditions of the Systems of Holy Sites in Buddhist Saṃvara Cycle and its Related Scriptural Cycles in Early Medieval South Asia: The Geography of Esoteric Buddhism in the Eyes of the Compilers of the Scriptures," in *Genesis and Development of Tantrism*, ed. Shingo Einoo, (Tokyo: Institute of Oriental Culture, 2009), 515-562.

[87] Here we must recall that in this biography, the connotation of *lotsāba* is not necessarily restricted to that of "translator."

[88] Note that the positions of all the deities are given in relation to Śāriputra himself. He is the center, the deities surround him. This again occurs in the vision of Cakrasaṃvara and later.

saṃsāra. Then he supplicates Śākyamuni and Jambhala, but the reader is not privy to this.

This episode is also revealing in that we see three of the six deities that comprise the *sādhana* cycle known as the *mitra khrid drug.* This forms a critical connection with the lineage biography discussed in the following chapter. Indeed, this cycle of teachings is what Śāriputra is chiefly remembered for in Tibet.

THE FINAL CHAPTER

With his exhortation to Tārā and the other Tathāgatas, this second "chapter" in the esoteric biography abruptly ends, and a new one begins. This is entitled *Commentary which is the Seal of the Secret Vow.* A Sanskrit translation of the title is also included – a common practice in Tibetan texts, even if there is no Sanskrit original. While the previous two chapters opened with a homage to the gurus, this chapter begins by praising the tantric deity Cakrasaṃvara.[89]

In this chapter, Śāriputra's visionary world attains its greatest level of detail. While the deities he meets (in this case Saṃvara and his consort) belong to the highest tantric levels, Śāriputra seems utterly comfortable and confident in their presence. On the one hand, this follows the exoteric biography, in that the biography as a whole reveals a progression to higher stages of practice from the perspective of the mantrayāna. In the end, he seems to find the fullest expression of Buddhist practice in the tantric system. Unlike the exoteric biography, the

[89] No information is given relating to how Śāriputra was introduced to the practice of Cakrasaṃvara, whether in India or Tibet. Perhaps the guru named Dpal mdzes transmitted this tantra to him, as he is recalled immediately before making offerings to Cakrasaṃvara.

esoteric biography contained tantric characteristics from the beginning, yet there is still a clear progression from supernatural guardians, such as the charnel ground dog, through deities such as Jambhala and Tārā, to Cakrasaṃvara and his consort, usually Vajravārāhī.

In addition, his mode of interaction with these characters also changed. Initially his visionary experiences rendered him simply dumbfounded, and incapable of active participation in this virtual world. Later, visions of tantric deities elicit his praise and wonder. Finally, in the case of Cakrasaṃvara, he engages in a dialogue with the deities. Therefore, although the status of his interlocutors seems to increase, his level of comfort with them also increases. This growing familiarity with tantric deities is a well-known characteristic of higher tantra. Whereas in *yoga* and *krīya* tantras, the practitioner visualizes his ritual interlocutor as a master or teacher, in the highest tantric systems (such as the Cakrasaṃvara rituals), the visualized deity is viewed as more intimate and eventually as indistinguishable from oneself.[90]

A NEAT TRICK

The growing level of detail in this chapter is instantiated from the very beginning. After the initial homage to Cakrasaṃvara, Śāriputra records the date and exact ritual context of his next vision. From the ninth to thirteenth day of the twelfth month of the sheep year, he performed rituals in which he saw his guru as a

[90] See for instance the exposition in Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, 268-274. This perspective of "higher" and "lower" tantra belongs to the practitioners who define their practice as "higher," of course.

real *buddha*, and made the three kinds of offering (outer, inner, and secret), both material and mental objects, to Cakrasaṃvara and his retinue. Supplicating one-pointedly, the vision came at midnight of the twelfth day – that is, the beginning of the thirteenth day.

Śāriputra envisions two people, a man and woman. The man is described as azure in color (*mthun mthing*). Given the homage to Cakrasaṃvara at the outset of this chapter, and the supplications to him that precipitated this vision, the reader can make as educated guess here that the identity of this figure whose long hair hangs down to his shoulders is Cakrasaṃvara. Close to him was a nubile woman whose hair hung loose about her. Śāriputra states, "Plus me, we made three," which may seems insignificant, but in fact it is a statement in which he insinuates himself into a rather august company.

The blue man begins their encounter by asking him if he knows how to hide something such that no one can see it. Śāriputra replies that he does know things of that nature. When pressed to explain, he states that he would take the object and wrap it in cloth, bind it, and seal it. The blue man points out that even if he wraps the object in a container of cotton cloth, others will be able to see. He probably means that while the object itself may be secreted away in a cotton container, people can still see the container itself. Śāriputra turns the question on his interlocutor, challenging him to explain how to hide something so that no one will see it. Taking the challenge, his blue companion states, "I know what is unseen by others," and asks for an object to demonstrate with. Śāriputra hands over a few bits of silver. The blue man says, "Don't hide them somewhere else; leave them hidden

within your own body!" He then tears open Śāriputra's throat and put the silver in his heart and navel. Śāriputra responds to this savaging by asking where to visualize the letter *a*.[91] "In the navel" is his answer. The then awakes from his meditative equipoise.

Śāriputra now interprets the vision. He realizes the blue man is Heruka (Cakrasaṃvara), and the woman is his consort Bhagavatī (Vajravārāhī). The process of hiding the silver represented the untying of the three *cakra*s, and gaining some "taste" (*bcud*; *rasa*) of the dharma. He seems ambivalent about the meaning of the deity's statement that "*a*" resides at the navel. He supplies two possible interpretations. The first is that it may represent the wheels of *mantra* turning. Otherwise, it may indicate the non-arising of highest attainment.

The "untying of the three *cakra*s" may represent the loosening of the three knots or *granthi*s commonly spoken of by both Buddhist and Hindu yogic traditions. Each loosening represents the gaining of esoteric realization and the attendant magical powers, the common and uncommon *siddhi*s. The last untying indicates the final liberation, *mokṣa*.[92]

The phrase "getting some taste of dharma" (*chos kyi bcud cung zad thob*; **dharmarasāyana*?) is unusual. *Bcud* is the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit *rasa*,

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[91]This is a reference to the seed (*bija*) syllable *a*.

[92] On the *granthi*s, see Svātmārāma, *Haṭhapradīpikā* 4: 70-6. Composed sometime between 1350-1550 [see P.K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Literary History*, (Bombay: Singhi Jain Sāstra Śikshāpīth, 1953), 379], this text on yoga is neither specifically Buddhist nor non-Buddhist, though it seems to be particular to the *nātha* sects. On *granthi*s, cf. White, *The Alchemical Body*, 279: "The upward surge of energy that courses through [the medial channel] cuts through the three knots (called *granthi*s) which are the sole remaining obstacles to the yogins immortality and freedom."

indicating a kind of liquid essence, often thought of in terms of mercury or semen – themselves often equated. The phrase *bcud len*, similar to *bcud thob*, it often used in Tibetan to indicate the tantric alchemical practices of "extracting the essence" of the elements (earth, fire, water, wind, ether) or rocks and flower in order to prolong one's life.[93] This may be the symbolism of the pieces of silver – possibly implying quicksilver – that Śāriputra gives to Heruka. While both Buddhist and non-Buddhist practitioners in the tantric and *nātha* schools elaborated on the terms *rasa* and *rasāyana*, its use in relation to the term *dharma* is unknown to me.

The syllable "*a*" represents the beginning or mother, in the sense of the mother of all letters (it is the sound from which all other sounds derive). This idea is expanded in Buddhist thought to make "*a*" also signify the concept of emptiness or *śūnyata*. From emptiness, all things manifest. In fact the largest elaboration of Mahāyāna philosophical thought, the *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures, is often said to be condensable into the single syllable "*a*."[94] This complex of ideas outlined in varying contexts such as the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature and the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* is

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[93] See M. Walter, "Jābir, the Buddhist Yogi: Part One," 426. For some examples of *rasāyana* in the Kālacakra tantra, see T. Fenner, "Rasayana Siddhi: Medicine and Alchemy in the Buddhist Tantras," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1979). For the practice of *bcud len* and prolonging life, see P. Maurer, "Elixier zur Verlängerung des Lebens," in *Tibet: Klöster öffnen ihre Schatzkammern*, (Villa Hügel: Kultursiftung Ruhr Essen, 2006), 578-581; Byams pa phun tshogs, *et al.*, *'Khrungs dpe dri med shel gyi me long*, (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2002), 168.

[94] The *Ekākṣarīprajñāpāramitā*, or *Perfection of Wisdom in One Letter*. See D. Lopez, *Elaborations on Emptiness*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 83. See also the eulogy to "*a*" in the fifth chapter of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*. A. Wayman, trans., *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī, the Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti, Sanskrit and Tibetan texts*, (Boston: Shambhala, 1985), 68. Note that in his exoteric biography, Śāriputra is said to have studied both these texts.

probably the source of Śāriputra's confusion as to the possible symbolism of the letter "*a*" in his vision.

We should again note Śāriputra's confidence in his visionary reality. This is not the first time he has had an elaborate vision. The Mañjuśrī empowerment was similarly detailed. However, his interpretation involved only the principal characters: his guru as Mañjuśrī and his consort as Upakeśinī. In the Cakrasaṃvara vision, Śāriputra also interprets the significance of the actions undertaken, and their importance for himself.

What is especially interesting in comparing the Mañjuśrī vision with the Cakrasaṃvara vision is that both bear some relation to a vision of the white-clad boy that precedes them. Immediately prior to the Mañjuśrī vision, Śāriputra sees the white-clad boy, who shows him the "proper" way to make a *maṇḍala*. Śāriputra is repeatedly unable to do anything but invert the *maṇḍala*. He then has the vision of his guru as Mañjuśrī, bestowing a Mañjuśrī empowerment upon him. On the one hand, the empowerment of the bodhisattva of wisdom might be intended to make him adept at the performance of rituals like the *maṇḍala*. On the other hand, both visions are concerned with external ritual, like making *maṇḍala*s and conducting empowerments with crystal swords, etc. There is an elaborateness present that is in marked contrast to the actions of the Cakrasaṃvara vision.

Regarding the latter vision, we will recall that Śāriputra had previously seen the white-clad boy after taking his residence in 'Chings phu to be like Gṛdhrakūta. The boy told him that everything was inside his own body, then disappeared. His vision of Cakrasaṃvara is again concerned with the importance of what is inside

one's own body.[95] The statement from the white boy seems to warn against elaborate external considerations, such as viewing the mountains of 'Chings phu as Indian *piṭha* sites, and to concentrate on what is interior to oneself. Śāriputra's rebuke to the translator (the very personification of mental elaboration) demonstrates his understanding of this point. Heruka's advice expands on this by overlaying the need for secrecy. The best way for something to remain hidden is if that thing is hidden within oneself. Instead of elaborate external *maṇḍala* practices, one should concentrate on other wheels, the internal *cakra*s, which are not put together, but rather untied.

This schema agrees with the change in emphasis from "lower" tantric practices in which Mañjuśrī is involved, to "higher" practices of Cakrasaṃvara which emphasize the internal yogas.[96] It also agrees with Śāriputra's progressive retreat into his internal world that we have witnessed throughout the esoteric biography. At the outset, he was incapable of differentiating between his visionary reality and the "mundane" world. Both appeared as if in a world exterior to his person. Gradually, he separates these worlds. The visions occur when he is in *samādhi*, from which he can "wake up." At the same time, while these visions are internal in the sense of occurring in his own personal visionary reality – in his mind

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[95] In terms of outer time, the vision of the boy and the vision of Cakrasaṃvara occurred a year apart. However, in terms of the time interior to the biography, and in terms of time relative to the reader, these visions are almost immediately juxtaposed.

[96] To be sure, when engaged in Cakrasaṃvara practice, one does not cease external ritual activity, but it is in the higher tantras that the internal practices are introduced and emphasized. There is also a progressive emphasis on non-elaboration.

– they are still of an external character. He sees Śākyamuni and Tārā appearing in the space in front of him, the space of the 'Chings phu caves. The white-clad boy and Cakrasaṃvara urge him to internalize even the external geography. The visionary reality should be internal to his mind and internal to his body. In fact, all reality – what is called "the whole world," as the white-clad boy says – should be internal to his body. If he accepts this advice, there will no longer be an "external," and therefore no differentiation between "inner" and "outer" experience.

What this change would look like is left an unanswered question. Possibly, it is represented in the last vision recorded in the esoteric biography. This vision is substantially like the elaborate visions in both the exoteric and esoteric biography. The difference, however, is that Śāriputra no longer views the geography, and the people that occupy it, as an objective reality which can escape interpretation, but rather as directly relevant to his own spiritual progress. That is, he no longer concentrates on strange or important figures such as the deities and teachers occupying a more or less empirical, meaningless scenic backdrop. This is essentially no different from his early visions where the phantasm was a discrete entity who had wandered into an otherwise mundane scene. In the final vision, the scene in its entirety is viewed as symbolic, and the strange figures who Śāriputra used to focus on are no longer there, or are just less strange. When he realizes that the entire world is interior to oneself, he does not need one single visionary object as a focal point.

The meditation on Cakrasaṃvara ends with a short colophon, praising the guru (no doubt referring to Śāriputra) for bestowing this teaching. The students

who requested this teaching are named Don grags and Jñānaśrī. Little useful identifying information is given about either of these characters, though Jñānaśrī is later identified by the fuller name Mnga' ris lo tsa ba Jñānaśrī. This Jñānaśrī is said to have "translated" (*bsgyur*, 8b3) this passage, so we may infer that at least this episode came from the lips of Śāriputra himself. Jñānaśrī seems to have played a major role in Śāriputra's life, having also translated his biographies of Virūpakṣa, Gorakṣanātha, and Golenātha.[97] Other than this rather meager information, there is nothing else to tell us who penned these anecdotes, or under what circumstances. Even the dating of the episode itself can only be roughly estimated. It is in the next, and last, episode that we are given a bit more precision, which will allow us to understand what has come before in greater depth.

The Last Vision

This represents Śāriputra's most banal record of his visionary world, yet it perhaps signifies his highest accomplishment as a spiritual adept. In his usual style, he begin this episode, or perhaps more correctly this last chapter, by situating himself in time. This represents his most precise dating. Prior to this, the author has supplied us with the month and day, but the year has been vague. Tibetan years are assigned four identifying features which can be used to hone in on specific dates, provided all the features are supplied. These characteristics are: animal, element, gender, and a name. Śāriputra's biography has, until this point, only supplied the animal referent. In this last chapter, the author gives all

[97] These biographies are translated in the appendix.

characteristics, in what turns out to be a rather surprising year. According to the author, this final scene opens on the night of the twenty-fifth of the fourth month of the male-wood-monkey year, called *nyi sgrol byed*. This is unmistakably the year 1404.[98] The fourth month of the Tibetan calendar is of course Saga Dawa, the month in which the Buddha's birth, death, and *parnirvāṇa* are believed to have occurred. The twenty-fifth day of every month requires a ritual tantric feast.

On this occasion, a guru from the area of Stag lung, named Brtson 'grus legs pa, requests Śāriputra to pray to his *yidam* – or tutelary deity. Of all the deities mentioned thus far, Śāriputra calls upon Mañjuśrī. Thus, we can state with some confidence that Mañjuśrī is Śāriputra's tutelary deity. This important not just as a link with Mañjuśrī and one of the six deities in the cycle of the *Mitra khrid drug*. Also, the paramount importance of Mañjusrī to Śāriputra will be cited in the lineage biography as an instigation for Śāriputra to go to Tibet. In addition, this will help to explain Śāriputra's eventual pilgrimage to Wutai Shan, the subject of this study's final chapter. Suffice it to state here that in terms of the esoteric biography itself, Mañjuśrī's critical role in Śāriputra's life may add some depth to his earlier identification of this deity with his teacher.

As is the case with his previous vision, a supplication to the Buddhist deities incites what Śāriputra's terms a dream.[99] Śāriputra states, "I dream I am three"

[98] We will return to this date, and why it is surprising, in Chapter Six. It will suffice to state here that Śāriputra is not thought to have entered Tibet until 1414, and evidence places him in Nepal in 1413.

[99] When the narratives use the term "dream," this should be seen in context as one of the Buddhist yogic techniques known as *rmi lam rnal 'byor* or "dream yoga."

(*nged gsum 'dug pa rmi te*, 8b6). The term *nged* could also be read as "we," though this use is not as common as "I." However, given Śāriputra's next statement *ji ltar na* ("how could this be?"), we must consider that something unusual has happened. Thus I take the reading "I dream I am three." All three travel in a line. In front walks a white-clad boy wielding a sword and trident. The person at the rear also wields a sword and trident, as does Śāriputra – who walks between the other two.

Reminiscent of the episode in the exoteric biography following his meeting with the white-clad boy, Śāriputra finds himself on a forest path, which is blocked by unruly trees and brambles. Unlike the exoteric biography, Śāriputra does not turn to another path, nor is he instructed to by the white-clad boy. Instead, Śāriputra demands, "This path has grown dark with brambles and so forth. What is the meaning [of this]?"[100] The white-clad boy going before him states that the path used to be in fine condition, but has lately become overgrown. Śāriputra orders them to clear the path (*lam 'di sol cig*, 9a2), and all three set to work cutting down the trees, and then chopping up the felled wood, until the path was once again free of hindrances.

Having crossed the path, the trio come across several fields full of shoots, some tall and others less so. They then pass into a series of mountain ranges of different shapes and sizes. In the middle of the range lies a town. There, a boy Śāriputra recognizes approaches and offers both him and his companion to the rear

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Śāriputra was known to be a master of this practice, as we will see in the next chapter.

[100] *lam 'di tsher ma la sogs pas 'khribs don ci'i phyir yin*, 9a1.

an animal whose white tail equals his body in length. Having offered the animal as a greeting gift, the boy prostrates to Śāriputra. Then the three move on to the next town. There, he is venerated by the local townspeople. Śāriputra then wakes up.

Having awoken, an interpretation of the dream occurs to him. His companions to the front and rear were Zla ba'i 'od zer can and Tra ba'i 'od zer can,[101] respectively. The path becoming clogged by vegetation which they then clear with their blades, representing cutting the root of doubts with the sword of wisdom.[102] The fields full of shoots represented disciples connected to him by previous karma and prayers. The white-tailed animal offered to him represented good wishes and some fame coming his way. The people of the next town venerating him was a sign of the disciples and enlightened activity, not of Śāriputra, but of his interlocutor. The reason the people venerate Śāriputra may be that as the transmitter of a lineage to his students, the latter's disciples will also revere Śāriputra. As we will see in the next chapter, the lineage biography of Śāriputra is followed by that of his disciple Grags pa rin chen, and both are written by Grags pa

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[101] The referents to these names are unknown to me, though there may be some link to Marīcī (*'od zer can* [*ma*]). Zla ba'i 'od zer can is perhaps Candrābha/Candrajyoti? It is important to note that these are both recognized by Śāriputra as part of himself, as he started the dream stating "I was three."

[102] Looking back at the blocked path in the exoteric biography, the esoteric biography's interpretation reinforces our previous conclusions. Śāriputra is advised by the white-clad boy to travel northwards to the "second" Vajrāsana, but travels west instead. It is this western path that is blocked by overgrowth. This then shows his doubts in the both the words of the white-clad boy, as well as his own ability to reach the northern Vajrāsana. Ultimately, this may also mark Śāriputra's lack of confidence in his own visions. When he does turn to the north, the path is free of hindrances, and in the next town he eventually becomes revered by the people, much like in the present vision.

rin chen's student Ku cor Rtogs ldan, who spends much more time on Śāriputra's biography than he does on Grags pa rin chen's.

The biography then ends by relating in general terms the wonderful character of Śāriputra, who gave myriad anecdotal advice on conduct, akin to the stories from the lives of the *mahāsiddhas*, and often spoke of the horrors in his own country. The narrator likens him to Mañjuśrī sending out moon-beams of wisdom and love. The wisdom of his disciples is like a lily which blooms when struck by the rays of the moon.

This partial and incomplete biography appears to be based on an original narrative ascribed to Śāriputra himself. The final line reads, "The secret biography, temporarily written out (*yi ger bkod*) by Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi, is finished." This may imply that the secret biography represents a collection of Śāriputra's recollections which were brought together by a later editor, such as Jñānaśrī. Therefore, while this text should not quite be regarded as an autobiography, it is heavily influenced by Śāriputra's autobiographical writings.

Conclusion

The esoteric biography differs in many important respects from the exoteric biography. There is almost no overlap in the various episodes from Śāriputra's life as related in each biography. Indeed, the Vajrāsana prophecy from the esoteric biography and the trip to Vajrāsana in the exoteric biography are the most closely related vignettes. These two episodes are characteristic of the contrast between the

two biographies. Both are concerned with time and place, but to different degrees, and in very different ways.

What is most similar in the two biographies are the central themes: trauma and anxiety. In the exoteric biography, Śāriputra copes with the trauma of the decline of Buddhism initially by rebuilding cultural monuments such as the Mahābodhi *caitya*, and reconstituting systems of meaning, such as engaging in Buddhist philosophical debates and ritual activity. These actions serve to place his contemporary Vajrāsana in some relational equivalence to, or repetition of, the golden era of Indian Buddhism during the reign of Aśoka.

Śāriputra's exoteric biography is also characterized by his withdrawal from the world. The narrative is relatively barren of other characters. There is simply a short list of names given at different points, who seem to have no important relationship to Śāriputra at all. After his vision of the white-clad boy, he seems to withdraw into a visionary world.

This withdrawal is a major characteristic of the esoteric biography as well, but it is important to note the central role of the moments of shock and anxiety occasioned by the white-clad boy in the exoteric biography, and occasioned by both him and the guru's consort in the esoteric biography. As pointed out earlier, these moments result from one system of symbolic relations having no equivalent in another system. This shock is usually overcome by translation. In these biographies, however, there are no translations offered to Śāriputra. Early in his life, Śāriputra's confusion is assuaged by his guru's interpretations of his visions, described in the esoteric biography. Later, he is left on his own, and I would argue

that these moments of shock then become moments of anxiety, anxiety surrounding an imaginary system of relations that he had thought were inviolate. Ultimately, this anxiety may have its root in his experience of Vajrāsana, the wasteland that had once been the indestructible heart of Buddhist cosmology.

In the exoteric biography, the anxiety is produced by the white-clad boy declaring that there is another Vajrāsana. This statement was a direct affront to all the Buddhist scriptures, as Śāriputra implies in his response to the white-clad boy. His interlocutor offers no explanation – that is, no translation – of his statement. He simply restates it. In the esoteric biography, the headwoman of a visionary town is said to be his guru's consort. This also directly opposes the *vinaya* system Śāriputra had believed his guru to diligently uphold. Again, there is no explanation. Finally, when Śāriputra seems to be constructing an imaginary, symbolic world of his own, where the Tibetan landscape is overlaid with Indian *piṭha* sites, the white-clad boy tells him that the whole world is within himself, then again leaves without explanation.

In the esoteric biography, holy sites can be anywhere because they are within the individual, yet this does not imply that there is no actual site in the mundane reality. Throughout this biography, the idea that there is a system which can be defined and measured with borders between inner and outer worlds, or simply between left and right, front and back, is not questioned. What seems to be debated is if this system really works. In this biography in particular, measured space seems irrelevant, though time is constantly being marked. In his youth, Śāriputra does not seem to distinguish between mundane reality and visionary

reality. He gradually learns to create a border separating these two realities which creates a system of meaning for himself. The purpose of making such distinctions seems at odds with the message of the *bodhisattvas* appearing to him, who can interfere with or confuse the system Śāriputra created.

Perhaps the lesson to be learned for Śāriputra is that these systems must be made, but they are ultimately just mental fabrications. Śāriputra constantly attempts to structure his world, to render it familiar to himself and others, that is, to translate it into common terms. His visions, however, constantly defamiliarize him. The defamiliarization promotes awareness of the heuristic value of his structures both in Śāriputra, and in the reader of the narrative. When Śāriputra is placed in a situation of shock or anxiety, and is not given explanation for his circumstance, he must try himself to bring two worlds together, that of the known and unknown.

In both the *Complete Biography* and the *Secret Biography*, Śāriputra creates systems of meaning for himself, and often for others. His attempt to define a Buddhist space, whether in terms of normative or esoteric philosophy, or ritual practice, is closely tied to his experience of witnessing the loss of Buddhism not only in his homeland, but Buddhism's homeland. The fate of Vajrāsana, and its impact on Śāriputra drives these narratives. As a means of illustrating his perspective on these events, Śāriputra and his interlocutors marshal an array of literary devices common to the Tibetan tradition of exoteric and esoteric biographical writing. The last lines of the *Secret Biography*'s narrator is particularly revealing. He states that Śāriputra gave them advice on what to accept and reject,

using the lives of the Indian mahāsiddhas as examples. He also taught them about the history of India, and the terrible things he witnessed there. In these biographies, the narrative and metaphors of the mahāsiddha tradition is overlaid onto the history of Buddhism's decline in India.

In the next biography, the *Rosary of Jewels*, Śāriputra's life fits easily within the tradition of mahāsiddhas, but lacks the historical reflection that propelled the narrative of the *Complete Biography* and *Secret Biography*. The reader no longer views the world through Śāriputra's eyes, but rather views Śāriputra through the lens of a Tibetan religious tradition. The former biographies characterized Śāriputra as someone who, confronted with the trauma of Buddhism's decline, sought to create or understand a new system which allowed Buddhism to survive. The following biography is silent about the state of Buddhism in India, and silences Śāriputra's internal, narrative voice. The *Rosary of Jewels* is a narrative about the development of a tradition, whereas the biographies studies in Chapters Three and Four show the development of an individual.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LINEAGE BIOGRAPHY

We now turn to Śāriputra's lineage biography, entitled *Rosary of Jewels.* The text is presented as a normative biography, yet I term it a lineage biography for a number of reasons. The major difference between this biography and the other two analyzed previously is the presence of a general background of people with whom Śāriputra interacts. The anchor marks in the exoteric biography were created in terms of place, in the esoteric biography in terms of time, whereas here they are created in terms of lineage. Śāriputra is very clearly told who his root teacher is, and that teacher gives him a definite mandate for propagating the lineage of the *Mitra khrid drug.* His disciples are referenced with certainty (the chief of these disciples being Grags pa rin chen, whose biography follows that of Śāriputra), and even his grand-disciple is noted, as he penned the biography. In addition, he is clearly part of a web of Buddhist activity, giving a range of teachings to Tibetans, as well as visiting and receiving a prophecy from the Jo bo Śākyamuni image in Lha sa.

Tibet itself is also placed in the lineage of Buddhist places, as Śāriputra is told to go to the Bsam yas area in order to meet the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. When he leaves Tibet for China, it is for similar reasons. In this way, India, Tibet, and China are set on equivalent levels in terms of containing places important for Buddhist practice. Śāriputra's lineage is also given political prominence, as the Chinese

emperor invites Śāriputra to the imperial capital after hearing what an amazing scholar-practitioner he is.

This network of relationships into which Śāriputra is placed stands in stark contrast to the extreme isolation which characterizes the exoteric and esoteric biographies. This is especially true given that this biography is a mere three folios in length. In that space, the entire force of the work is aimed at constructing Śāriputra as the progenitor of an important lineage of teaching, which everyone else thought was important as well. Whereas in the other two biographies, Śāriputra increasingly withdrew into a visionary reality, in this biography, the visionary is robustly present from the beginning. However, the subjects of these visions have clear intentions. They inform Śāriputra of his mission in no uncertain terms. In fact, his visions in the *Rosary of Jewels* may themselves testify to his skill in the yogic practice of "dream yoga." By this practice, Śāriputra is placed in a clear lineage of other practitioners. In contrast, the visions of the other biographies were a force Śāriputra had to grapple with. They incited shock and anxiety, forcing him to question his lineage and, in many cases, the cosmological and legal constructions that underpin Buddhism itself. In many ways, Śāriputra found tantric practice to be the way to negotiate the ultimate untenability of these constructions. In this biography, however, tantric practice binds him further into a network of Buddhism.

In light of this, we will analyze this work slightly differently from the others. Here, we will make every effort to expose this network which may have been intended to strengthen the transmission lineage founded by Śāriputra. Here, the events of the biography will as far as possible be placed in their historical context,

the main characters of Grags pa rin chen and Ku cor Rtogs ldan will be examined with regard to the role they played in the Śāriputra lineage, and it is here and in the next chapter that we will look at the secondary literature, although quite sparse, which mentions Śāriputra's activities in Tibet.

OPENING HOMAGE

The differences between this biography and the others begin immediately. This is the only biography that has a literary title. That is, the title is not a mere description of contents,[1] but a poetic device. It is called *A Rosary of Jewels: The Biography of Paṇḍita Śāriputra.* Furthermore, in the title itself, the reader is exhorted to "read it well and generate devotion." This may represent a fairly good indication that this lineage biography came from a different pen than the other two biographies, one with perhaps more knowledge of, or affinity for, narrative tropes.[2]

The opening eulogy is an ambitious statement of Śāriputra's qualities and power. The introductory poem of the secret biography restricted itself to a statement of the glory Śāriputra had achieved as a result of his Buddhist practice. It is not focused on his essential qualities, but the qualities inherent to Buddhism which ornament him.

[1] The exoteric biography is titled *The Complete, Ordinary Biography of Śāriputra*, and the esoteric biography is called *The Secret Biography of Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra During his Residence in Aryadeśa*. It is interesting to note that the episode in the esoteric biography concerned with Śāriputra's encounter with Cakrasaṃvara is also "named," "Commentary which is the Seal of Secret Samaya," whereas the biography as a whole is not.

[2] Though it must be borne in mind that the esoteric biography contains a lengthy poetic homage.

In the lineage biography, Śāriputra is contextualized. He exists with a purpose directed toward other people and places. In the first quatrain, Śāriputra is described as a "powerful king" (*thub dbang rgyal po*, an epithet of the Buddha) who is able to tame the inhabitants of the "great glacial lake" (*gangs chen mtsho*, term for the cosmos), which is described as a *maṇḍala* of knowledge and mercy (*mkhyen brtse*, *jñānakṛpa*). In the second quatrain, Śāriputra is again praised as an important Buddhist figure: "Chief among the scions of the Lion of Men," i.e. chief among the Buddha's disciples. Because he has a limitless collection of good qualities, he leads beings on the path to beatitude (*byang chub*, *bodhi*). This homage, then, is not just to a particular religious adept, but rather one who could be placed firmly within the Buddhist tradition, and one who was an active part of a community of religiously-minded people.

THE LIVES AND LIBERATIONS OF ŚRĪ ŚĀRIPUTRA

Unlike the exoteric biography, there is no record of the birth or parentage of Śāriputra. Unlike the esoteric biography, there is no record of his youthful exploits. Unlike both, there is no indication of a formative period of insecurity, out of which was to grow a formidable Buddhist adept. In the lineage biography, he appears fully formed and fully contextualized. Even his birth is part of a Buddhist framework that is in a manner much more explicit than the simple and common "auspicious dreams" of his parents presented in the exoteric biography. His parents are here elided, as if he is born not to people, but to Buddhism itself.

After the opening eulogy, Śāriputra is described as not only an authentic guru (*bla ma dam pa*), but also "a *bodhisattva* who was completely perfected in a visible way" (*mngon gyi yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub sems dpa'*). The *bodhisattva* has been sending forth countless emanations for the six classes of sentient beings. This present biography represents just part of Śāriputra's activity as a *bodhisattva*. In fact, he has three biographies, one each for the past, present, and future. In this respect, one should keep in mind the Tibetan word for "biography," *rnam par thar pa*, most correctly translates as "[story of] complete liberation." In this light, the narrator is not necessarily stating that there are three extant documents describing Śāriputra's life and/or liberation, but that there are three narratives of liberation. The narrator then proceeds to give an account of his past incarnation, when he seemingly began his resolve toward future enlightenment. Later in the narrative, he will receive a prophecy of his future beatitude.

The text states that initially, Śāriputra was born as the young Brahmin (*bram ze'i khyi'u; mānava*) Gser gyi sna cha can, who offered a small crystal stūpa to the Buddha while he resided in a Vaiśali palace. Thereupon, he generated real *bodhicitta*, and made pure aspirations toward beatitude. This short episode is reminiscent of the stories of many *buddhas* just before they receive their prophecy of future enlightenment. Typically, they are said to be the "son of a Brahmin" (*mānava*), and it is usually a buddha of the past who tells them after how many years they will attain final beatitude, and under what name.[3] In this case, however, it

[3] Nyang ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer lists many of these prophesies in his *chos 'byung*. Cf. Meisezahl, *Die große Geschichte des tibetischen Buddhismus nach alter Tradition*, 21a-26b.

seems to be the historical Buddha that is being described, given the fact that the name of the *buddha* is not provided and that the event takes place in Vaiśali. Also, it seems to be describing Śāriputra's life immediately prior to the current one. However, it cannot be ruled out that the reader is intended to read this as an event taking place at the time of a previous *buddha.*

IN VAJRĀSANA

This biography then skips to Śāriputra's current life. The description of this life is very different from that of the other biographies. His father is completely elided, and the only description of his mother is her name, Brāhmaṇī Marīcī (bram ze mo Nyi ma'i 'od chang can). His birthplace was the city of Siṅgala. It should be remembered that in the exoteric biography, his mother's name was Bhadradevī. As for the birthplace, we should not assume that this refers to present-day Sri Lanka, as Siṅgala is often assumed to be.[4] However, of the possible historical and legendary locations of Siṅgala, none correspond to the geographic description of Śāriputra's birthplace in the exoteric biography.

[4] This area is sometimes thought to be a kingdom in the Punjab-Rajasthan region, possibly in Jhelum district. Siṅgala is also identified as the kingdom of Shambhala. See D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971), 110. The *Sha ri pu tra'i rnam thar* gives Piribīnagara as his place of birth. See also the definition of Siṁhala in M.L. Mehta and K.R. Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, ed. Dalsukh Malvania, vol. 37, Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Series, (Ahmedabad: L.D. Institute of Indology, 1972), 784: "An Aṇāriya country beyond river Siṁdhu and its people. It was conquered by Suseṇa, the general of Cakkavaṭṭi Bharaha, along with other countries like Babbaya, Javaṇa, etc. It is identified with the kingdom of Siṁhapura bordering in the Indus on its western side and on the north side of the Salt Range."

Yet this biography does not really seem concerned with Śāriputra's early years, as it devotes only one short sentence to his origins. The scene quickly shifts to Vajrāsana, where he is ordained by the abbot Śrī Prabhā (*dpal gyi 'od zer*). Again, all this disagrees with his previous biographies (Tibetan and Chinese), both in terms of when he was ordained as well as the name of his preceptor. Given the initial description of Vajrāsana in the exoteric biography, it would be hard to imagine that Vajrāsana had any monks, let alone abbots.[5] One would be tempted to think this was the biography of someone altogether different. Yet this is the same reaction one might have to reading any two of Śāriputra's biographies side-by-side. As we shall see, there are enough overlaps to make one confident that all three biographies are talking about the same person, but in radically different ways.

After his ordination, Śāriputra quickly excels in the monastic life, becoming perfect in the three realms of study: traditionally outlined as listening, reflecting, and meditating. Ultimately, he becomes abbot of the Vajrāsana monastery, and spreads the Buddhist teachings. During this time, he meets the Mahāsiddha Golenātha,[6] requesting from him the instructions on a teaching known as *Immortal Pure Prāṇa* (*rlung bzang 'chi med*). At the time of requesting these instructions, he has a vision of the tantric deity Hevajra. In the next sentence, Śāriputra is approached

[5] Later in the exoteric biography, it is clear that there were other monks there, and Śāriputra takes over the abbacy from *Buddhasvāmi.

[6] The ms reads Gulinātha. This teacher will be recalled from his exoteric biography, where he was named Ghōlenā, and from him Śāriputra requested a similar teaching. Yet it also sounds like the name of his teacher from the Chinese biography, Gunaluona/Guṇaratna, and the guru from his hometown, named in his exoteric biography as Gunaranu. This *mahāsiddha* is most likely Golenātha, whose biography Śāriputra dictated to Jñānaśrī (see appendices).

by an unnamed hag – undoubtedly another tantric deity in disguise – who tells him to go to the Sosaling charnel ground. There he will find Mitrayogin, an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. She reveals that Mitrayogin has been Śāriputra's guru for many lives, and that upon meeting him, the guru would bestow his grace and a prophecy upon his disciple. Having given him this advice, she disappears "like a rainbow dissolving into the sky" (2a2).

Śāriputra takes the woman's advice to heart, and proceeds to the Sosaling charnel ground. There he meets "Lord Mitra." The guru is sitting at the base of a sandalwood tree, on top of a goral skin. He is wearing cotton clothing, and his hands are resting one on top of the other in the *mudrā* of equanimity. On his right sits a tiger, and on his left a bear.

This *tabula rasa* which begins the meeting between teacher and student is rich in symbolism. The Sosaling charnel ground was one of the great charnel grounds of India, famous as a site for conducting tantric rituals.[7] Therefore, before Mitrayogin is even introduced, the reader has some idea to expect the arrival of a tantric yogin. However, the actual description of Mitra enlarges the reader's expectations. He is sitting atop a goral skin, which is an animal (and a hide) closely associated with Avalokiteśvara, who is often depicted with the skin of this animal wrapped around him, or being used as this deity's meditation seat. This would not be too surprising, considering the disguised yoginī had already told Śāriputra that Mitrayogin was an emanation of Avalokiteśvara. The fact that Mitra is wearing

[7] This site to the west of Vajrāsana reputedly hosted Padmasambhava, Dga' rab rdo rje, Śrī Siṅgha, Niguma, Khyung po rnal 'byor and a number of other *mahāsiddha*s in the Indian and Tibetan traditions.

cotton clothing could mean anything in an Indian context, but for a Tibetan audience this cloth may index Mitra specifically as a yogin, due to the associations between this material and Tibetan yogins such as Milarepa and his followers, who could wear this light cloth in the extreme cold of Tibet due to their skill in the yogic practice of inner heat (*gtum mo; caṇḍālī*). There may also be a connection with the white[-clad] boy (i.e. Avalokiteśvara) featured in Śāriputra's other biographies, since the white he wears is presumably a cotton cloth. However, the stress in the other biographies seems to be upon the color of this cloth, and no mention is made of color in this biography, so nothing certain can be asserted on this point.

The sandalwood tree is also noteworthy. It seems to envelop Mitrayogin like a cave, in that the biography makes a point of stating that Mitra was seated at the root of this tree which was entirely sandalwood – branch, leaves, and smell. The tree then physically surrounds him on at least three sides, bottom (roots and leaves), back (trunk), top (branches and leaves). In addition, the smell pervades the rest of the space. The role of the sandalwood is significant, in the first place because the cooling properties of sandalwood are well-known in Indian medical and poetic literature.[8] Indeed, there are a great number of tales in which sandalwood is found by savvy Indians via this cooling property, whether they see elephants favoring one spot to lie in, and then digging in that spot to find a sandalwood tree, or seeing a woodcutter complaining of being cold all the time, only to find that he is

[8] For instance, in the *Pūrṇāvadāna*. On the religious, literary, and mercantile role of sandalwood – often in relation to the Buddha – see especially the seventh and eighth chapters of J. McHugh, *Sandalwood and Carrion*, (unpublished ms). For the relevant episodes in the *Pūrṇāvadāna*, see J. Tatelman, *The Glorious Deeds of Pūrṇa: A Translation and Study of the* Pūrṇāvadāna, (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), 53, 67.

carrying a load of sandalwood. This property then finds its way into religious literature. A sandalwood image of a *buddha* not only looks like a *buddha*, but in a sense acts like a *buddha* as well, for it "cools" whoever is in its vicinity. This is akin to a *buddha*'s ability to cool or calm the mind of those around him. This is further expressed in this description by the wild animals, the tiger and bear, sitting quietly next to him.

In addition, a sandalwood *buddha* is regal like an actual *buddha*, in that it is inordinately expensive, a rare and prized commodity reserved for kings and *buddhas*. Indeed, it may very well have been the Buddhists who first carved sandalwood into objects rather than grinding it for aromatic properties alone.[9] In the case of Mitrayogin, both the smell and the physicality of the sandalwood play important roles. Mitrayogin is surrounded by the sandalwood tree, as if it was his private pavilion. As the smell of sandalwood pervades the charnel ground,[10] the cooling properties of the sandalwood come into contrast with the usually wild and frightening characteristics of a charnel ground. At the center of this "smellscape" is Mitrayogin, whose spiritual qualities are suggested by the sandalwood in which he is ensconced. As McHugh has suggested, "[In] Indian Buddhist texts sandalwood is

[9] See McHugh, *idem.*

[10] The ability of a sandalwood tree's odor to pervade its surroundings is echoed in a general description of sandalwood in a fourteenth-century work by Ṭhakkur-Pherū, *Ratnaparīkṣādi Sapt-Granth Saṃgrah*, 43: *malayagiri pavvayaṃmi siricaṃdaṇataruvaraṃ ca ahinilayaṃ / aisīyalaṃ suyaṃdhaṃ taggaṇdhe sayalavaṇagaṇdhaṃ* // 47; "On the Malaya mountain (there are) the best *Śrīcandana* trees, which are the abodes of snakes. (These trees are) extremely cool and fragrant; by their fragrance the (whole) forest (becomes) fragrant." Quoted in McHugh, *op. cit.*, 329.

being used...to represent a different sphere of reality, the physicality of the enlightened Buddha, a perfected human."[11]

In this case, the sphere of reality of an enlightened being (Mitrayogin) alters the normative characteristics of his surroundings, the charnel ground. This situation is highlighted by the tame tiger and bear which sit next to Mitrayogin. Their wild natures are calmed by his presence, and the soothing effects of sandalwood. This doubling (i.e. the calming properties of both a *buddha* and sandalwood) is also found in the above-cited *Pūrṇāvadāna.* Mitrayogin himself is thus characterized as a supreme, saintly yogin, able to produce the mental calm that a *buddha* engenders in those around him, but also frequenting the dangerous charnel grounds. In fact, there may be no better description of the work of a *buddha* than this, that his calm pervades the most horrible of places (both mental and physical) like the scent of a sandalwood tree pervading a charnel ground.

Finding Mitra in this auspicious state, Śāriputra immediately offers him a *gaṇacakra* and a *maṇḍala.* He then asks after his guru's health, and gives the reason for his visit. He has understood that the old woman who sent him to Sosaling was a *jñāna ḍākiṇī*[12], and further asks for empowerments, *samaya* vows, and pith instructions which will enable him to achieve complete enlightenment in one lifetime.

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[11] *ibid.*, 325.

[12] For a short description of *jñānaḍākiṇīs*, as opposed to *lokaḍākiṇīs*, see A. Herrmann-Pfandt, *Ḍākiṇīs: zur Stellung und Symbolik des Weiblichen im Tantrischen Buddhismus*, (Bonn: India et Tibetica, 1992), 118-122.

It is worth considering how different this passage is from anything we have seen in the other biographies. The Śāriputra of the esoteric and exoteric biographies was constantly beset by obstacles, whether imposed by others (fantastic or mundane) or by his own self-doubt. Nothing was certain in those biographies, as mundane and visionary realities were often interwoven. Contrariwise, in this biography, Śāriputra never doubts, or if he does, his biographer never shares this with the reader. He simply shows up at Vajrāsana and becomes abbot for a few years. The advice of a strange old woman is immediately taken up, as he recognizes her to be a *ḍākiṇī* in disguise. Upon meeting a rather imposing looking Mitrayogin, he immediately asks for the highest teachings. As we shall see, Mitrayogin gives them, without asking anything in return. This is very different from anything seen in the biographies of the Indian *mahāsiddha*s – especially Nāropā, whose life frequently parallels that of Śāriputra in this biography – or Tibetan adepts like Milarepa.

Further, we see that in this biography, everything is contextualized. Śāriputra is destined to be an accomplished Buddhist master, as he offered a small stūpa to the Buddha. His tenure at Vajrāsana established him as a scholar. His meeting with the old woman is in the tantric context of a meeting with covert *ḍākiṇī*s, and his link with Mitrayogin has been established for many lifetimes as guru and disciple. His interaction with Mitrayogin is almost formulaic in a tantric context: he offers a formal request for empowerments and teachings. At the end of the chapter, we discuss possible reasons for this difference with the other

biographies, whether for issues of legitimacy or space, or perhaps what was expected in a Tibetan biographical idiom.

The fact that Śāriputra's life has been refined into this highly-polished narrative does not necessarily detract from its legitimacy. If it conforms closely to the norms of Tibetan biographical literature, this reflects more on the author's narrative background and intent than on the veracity of the events described.

One possible explanation for the unusually straightforward exchange between Śāriputra and Mitrayogin is that this meeting does not occur within the realm of mundane reality, but rather is a visionary experience on the part of Śāriputra.[13] This would explain why there is no period of discipleship undergone by Śāriputra, but rather an immediate transmission of this teaching. This also may point to how it is that Śāriputra was able to meet this teacher at all, as Mitrayogin (or another by that name) was known to have been invited to Tibet two and a half centuries earlier.

However, the narrative (at least ostensibly) presents this meeting as a non-visionary experience. Śāriputra has access to Mitrayogin because the latter "is a yogin who has attained immortality" (*'chi med grub pa'i rnal 'byor pa yin*, 2a5-6). Having come to the Sosaling charnel ground, he attained a direct (visionary) experience – or "actually saw the faces" (*dngos sum du zhal mthong*, 2a6) – of six deities: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Amitayus, Tārā, and Yellow Jambhala. Each of these deities then bestowed upon Śāriputra a particular empowerment,

[13] As we will see below, the later tradition of the *Mitra khrid drug* presents this teaching as having been transmitted in a dream to Ku cor Rtogs ldan.

practice (*sādhana*), generation and completion stage practices, and guiding instructions (*khrid*) of that deity.

The evidence strongly suggests that these six deities and their respective practices comprise the *sādhana* cycle known variously as the "Six Instructions of Mitra" (*Mitra khrid drug*)[14] or "Six *dharmas* of Mitra" (*Mitra chos drug*).[15] The most telling proof comes from a comparison of the instructions named in this biography with the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*.[16] It may be worth noting that a biography of Śāriputra with the same title as the one we are currently examining is also found in the same catalogue. Currently, access to the 'Bras spungs holding is restricted, and thus we cannot draw any conclusions about the content of these practices. While a close examination of these texts would yield further information about Śāriputra, a brief examination of their titles provides valuable links between the biography and real practices.

Deity name	Associated practice in *Rosary of Jewels*	Name in *'Bras spungs dkar chag*	'Bras spungs no. (pg)
Mañjuśrī	'Jam dpal dbyangs sku'i		

[14] Found in Dpa'o gtsug lag phreng ba (1504-1564/6), *Chos 'byung Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 519 [= Varanasi ed., 1021]; see also *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, Gangs can rig mdzod 35, (Lhasa: Bod ljong bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2001), 5.

[15] Found in the *Deb ther sngon po* (Chengdu ed., 1212 [= Roerich, 1042]).

[16] Bstan 'dzin phun tshogs, *et al.*, ed., *'Bras spungs dgon du bzhugs su gsol ba'i dpe rnying dkar chag*, (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004).

	khrid shes rab 'phel byed ye shes brgyan gyi 'khor lo		
Avalokiteśvara	Spyan ras gzigs gsung gi khrid byang chub lam rim ba yongs su bsdus pa bdud rtsi'i dga' ston	*Spyan ras gzigs dbang gsung gi khrid yig byang chub lam gyi rim pa thams cad yongs su bsdus pa'i bdud rtsi'i dga' ston*	#8542 (770)
Vajrapāṇi	Phyag na rdo rje thugs kyi khrid bdud dpung 'joms byed 'od zer rgyas pa	*Phyag na rdo rje thugs kyi khrid bdud dpung 'joms byed 'od zer rgyas pa*	#8546 (770)
Amitayus	Tshe dpag yon tan gyi khrid 'chi med rdo rje'i sku sgrub pa		
Tārā	Sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyob 'khor ba'i phreng sgrol 'phrin las lhun grub	*Sgrol ma'i khrid 'khor ba 'phreng sgrol 'phrin las lhun grub*	#8548 (770)
Yellow Jambhala	Mgon po 'dzam la'i khrid Dngos grub char 'bebs	*Mgon po Dzambha la'i khrid dngos grub char 'bebs*	#8550 (770)

As we can see, four out of the six instructions listed in this biography are represented with almost verbatim titles in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag*, and are grouped together. However, these texts are not attributed to Śāriputra, but to Ku

cor Rtogs ldan[17], about whom we will have more to say later. Suffice it to say for now that he is indicated as the one who would first write down this transmission.

It may be worth asking ourselves here about the category into which these practices would fall, specifically, are these revelatory texts? There is no explanation of how they came about, so we cannot state anything with certainty. However, some sort of revelation seems to be indicated. Yet, we could not go so far as to make a link with Tibetan tradition by stating that they are the same as *gter ma* texts – revealed (or more precisely, recovered) treasure. They may function like *gter ma*, but they have no lineage, i.e. nothing was lost which necessitated recovery. This recovery or recollection of lineage or history is an extremely important feature of the *gter ma* tradition.[18]

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[17] Other texts in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* attributed to Ku cor Rtogs ldan, and probably associated with the *Mi tra khrid drug* cycle are: *'Jam dpal dbyangs kyi rjes su snang ba* (#8537), *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang gi cho ga rin chen 'od 'phro* (#8538), *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs kyi gsung sgrub kyi rim pa* (#8539, the author is named Ku cor Rtogs ldan Nam 'od dpag rdo rje), *Spyan ras gzigs kyi cho ga mchod khrigs* (#8540), *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi byang chub kyi lam sgom pa'i rim pa* (#8541, authored by Rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug Shrī Dza ga ta mi drā nandra), *Byang chub lam rim gyi khrid kyi cha lag man ngag gser thur rin chen sgron me* (#8543), *Spyan ras gzigs dbang gi sgo nas zab lam yid bzhin nor bu* (#8544), *Dpal phyag na rdo rje'i rjes gnang* (#8545), *'Phags ma sgrol ma'i rjes su gnang ba* (#8547), *Dpal Dzam bha la'i rjes su gnang ba* (#8549), *Chos skyong grags lha mgon po'i rjes su gnang ba* (#8551).

[18] See J. Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 147ff. Curiously, in the history of this *Mitra khrid drug* lineage recorded in the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen is said to be the "prophesied *dharma* holder" (*chos bdag tu lung bstan*, 5). This is a title that came to have important ramifications in the *gter ma* tradition. See Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 177. Additionally, it is said of the *Mitra khrid drug*, that apart from this lineage coming from the vision of Mitrayogin to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen and on to Ku cor Rtogs ldan, there is no second lineage (5), which is perhaps a claim the *gter ma* traditions would be comfortable making about itself.

However, we cannot deny the possibility of a tradition, since the origin of these practices are deities appearing to Mitrayogin, who lived two and a half centuries prior to Śāriputra, so there is a certain abbreviation of lineage that is also a feature of Tibetan *gter ma.* Can we say that this represents an Indian form of revelation akin to "pure appearances" (Tib. *dag snang*), which has Maitreya's revelations to Asaṅga as an Indian precedent?[19] Again, we cannot say with certainty since this text is quite Tibetanized (and therefore we cannot be sure how much of it reflects an Indian Buddhist world-view), there is no mention of the technical term *dag snang*, and there is no evidence for the *Mitra khrid drug* in the other biographies of Śāriputra.[20] Both these "regulations" are emphasized in the lineage biography, and both of course are flouted in practice by the lineage holders of the *Mitra khrid*

[19] This *dag snang* may have influenced or have been influenced by Tibetan *gter ma.* Certainly, Bdud 'joms uses it as a precedent for certain kinds of *gter ma*, namely *dgongs gter*. See Bdud 'joms 'Jigs bral ye shes rdo rje, *Bdud 'joms chos 'byung*, (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1996), 416-17 [translated as Dudjom Rinpoche, *The Nyingma School of Tibetan Buddhism*, trans. Gyurme Dorje, ed. Gyurme Dorje and M. Kapstein, (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1991), 747-8]. On *dgongs gter* and *dag snang*, see also Gyatso, *Apparitions of the Self*, 147. From the exoteric biography, we know that Śāriputra was familiar with the corpus of texts revealed by Maitreya to Asaṅga.

[20] In fact, it is possible that this transmission is influenced, via Tibetan interpretation, of the Daoist revealed texts, which insist on a strict lineage of predestined disciples and guarded secrecy. As with the *Mitra khrid drug*, the predestined disciple of these Daoist treasures may not come for great spans of time, often thousands of years. In this context, the four centuries separating Mitrayogin from Śāriputra would only add to the prestige of the practice (this is also the case made by proponents of *gter ma*). The Daoist treasure lineages are also generally passed from divine to human masters and disciples. Cf. Stein, *Rolf Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 302.

drug.[21] Yet again, these three biographies are so entirely different from one another that we cannot know what is true or false in one based on readings of the other two.

However, what does join the biographies, at least in their discussions of *siddhas*, is the importance of immortality. That is, most of the *siddhas* described in the biographies of and by Śāriputra are characterized as having gained control over their lifespans, and thus Śāriputra's vision of Mitrayogin should perhaps not be described as a vision so much as a meeting with an immortal *siddha*. Certainly, the Indo-Tibetan tradition did not have trouble attributing extremely long life-spans to particular adepts such as Nāgārjuna.

MITRAYOGIN

The purported origin of this lineage, Mitrayogin, is a figure worth more that the slight notice he has been given by the scholarly community, and more than the small study we can afford to devote to him here. In the *Deb ther sngon po*, he plays an important role in several lineages, including the *rdzogs chen* lineage and the *mahāmudrā* lineage of the Indian *mahāsiddha* Sarāha.[22] His life has much in common with that of Śāriputra, including their important relationships to Vajrāsana and the Svayambhū *caitya* in Nepal. Mitrayogin is also said to have written a commentary

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[21] This practice was in fact disseminated widely in Tibet. See numerous examples in the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, including the transmission to over three hundred monks (96).

[22] A short biography is also provided in the *Deb ther sngon po* (Chengdu ed., 1200ff [= Roerich trans., 1030ff]).

to a Cinnamuṇḍā *sādhana*, as well as including one such *sādhana* in his *Mitra brgya rtsa*.[23]

We cannot know for certain if the Mitrayogin in this biography is intended to refer to the twelfth-century Mitrayogin invited to Tibet by Khro phu Lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal (1173-1225). There may have been another Mitrayogin in the fifteenth century who was conflated with the twelfth-century Mitrayogin, but these two were not distinguished by Tibetans. In his biography, Thang stong rgyal po goes in search of Mitrayogin, hearing that he resided in the vicinity of Nepal.[24] Tsong kha pa was also said to have intended to visit Mitrayogin and Nāgabodhi in search of elucidation regarding the Guhyasamāja and Saṃvara tantras.[25] It seems that his immortality, or at least extreme longevity, was a matter accepted by all parties. Therefore, it is doubtful that anyone would have questioned the Mitrayogin-Śāriputra relationship as a direct teacher-student link.[26]

THE FINAL WORDS OF MITRAYOGIN

Mitrayogin then tells Śāriputra that this lineage of instructions, which he received from each of the *bodhisattvas* personally, should remain as a one-to-one

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[23] E.A. Benard, *Chinnamastā: the Aweful Buddhist and Hindu Tantric Goddess*, 15.

[24] Lo chen 'Gyur med bde chen, *Dpal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long*, 53; see also C. Stearns, *King of the Empty Plain*, 135.

[25] T. Huber, *The Holy Land Reborn*, 132.

[26] Perhaps for this reason, 'Gos lo tsā ba does not comment on Mitrayogin as a teacher of both Śāriptura and Khro phu Lo tsā ba, even though they were separated by three centuries.

lineage. In this way, it will be blessed by the *bodhisattvas* in question for seven generations. Then, Mitrayogin prophesies to Śāriputra the following:

> You yourself will acquire experience (*nyams su len*) and in the direction of Tibet, among the snowlanders, worthy vessels for these vows will have faith in you, and to one who is well-trained in illusory body and dream yogas, give completely these doctrines! From North to North these doctrines will spread and expand.[27]

As we can see, Mitrayogin is telling Śāriputra that he will grow proficient in these doctrines, and bring them to Tibet. He will there find a student skilled in two particular yogic practices, those of dream yoga and illusory body yoga.[28] He will become the unique recipient of these doctrines, which will then spread "from North to North," which may indicate dissemination from Tibet to Mongolia.

This prophecy is interesting for a number of reasons. It represents the first mention of Tibet as a destination for Śāriputra in any of the biographies.[29] Mitrayogin is not really telling him to go to Tibet, but just prophesying that he will go there. The impetus to go to Tibet will come shortly. This is also one of the first mentions of specific, and recognizable (at least to Tibetans), religious practices, that

[27] *khyod rang gis kyang nyams su leng la bod phyogs kha ba can gyi khrod du gdams ngag 'di rnams kyi snod dang ldan pa / khyod rang yid ches zhing / rgyu lus dang smi lam 'byongs pa 1 yod pas de la gdams pa 'di rnams par rdzogs par byin 1 / byang phyogs nas byang phyogs su dar zhing rgyas par 'gyur ro*, 2b1-3.

[28] These two practices are related. See Shen Weirong, "Studies on Chinese Texts of the Yogic Practices of Tibetan Tantric Buddhism Found in Khara Khoto of Tangut Xixia [I]: Quintessential Instructions on the Illusory Body of Dream," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 15 (2005): 187-230.

[29] It may be remembered that Tibet was mentioned in the title of one of the episodes in the esoteric biography. However, in this case Tibet was not a destination for Śāriputra. It was simply noted by the narration as a place where he was located. Tibet as a destination was never indicated while he was in India. Later, he simply appeared in Tibet.

is, the yogas of dreaming and illusory body. As we will see below, the prophesied student this refers to is Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, whose biography follows the *Rosary of Jewels.*[30] Interestingly, in most of the extant records concerning Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, his name is used in conjunction with one or both of these two yogic practices, as well as in conjunction with Śāriputra. However, in these sources, it is usually Śāriputra who is named as the master of these yogas, who then teaches them, along with the *Mitra khrid drug*, to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen.[31]

We might then surmise that these doctrines are related to these yogas. We know very little of what Śāriputra's ritual life was like, but facility in dream yoga might explain why he consistently describes his visions in his esoteric biography as dreams. Yet we must wait for the relevant texts constituting the *Mitra khrid drug* contained in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* to become available before coming to any conclusions, especially since the other biographies have such little affinity with the *Rosary of Jewels*, and therefore reading one in light of the other is questionable.

It seems that at least this episode of the *Rosary of Jewels* is directly focused on legitimizing Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen. To what degree this delegitimizes the biography is open to question. Certainly, prophecy is often used as a legitimizing

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[30] The biography of Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen is translated in the appendix.

[31] Cf. the Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas (1700-1774), *Bka' brgyud gser phreng rnam thar zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba* (Varanasi: Vajra Vidya Institute Library, 2005), 84; and Dpa' bo Gtug lag phreng ba, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 519-20. For a full discussion of Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, see below. While Chos kyi 'byung gnas seems to rely heavily on the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, he offer much original material. In addition, as author of the history of Svayabhūnātha caitya in Nepal, the *Bal yul rang byung mchod rten chen po'i lo rgyus*, which also mentions Śāriputra, we must assume that he had some knowledge of Śāriputra and his lineage.

tool. It functions at least partially in this way in the *Complete Biography* – where the target of the prophecy is the "second Vajrāsana" – and the Secret *Biography* – where the target of the prophecy is Śāriputra. It should come as no surprise then that a biography concerned with constructing a lineage, such as this one, would contain this kind of prophecy.

It is curious that having just stated that the lineage will be a "one-to-one" transmission, Mitrayogin prophesies that the teaching will spread widely. It is possible that he means it will do so after the seventh generation. In fact, we know almost nothing about this transmission outside of two sources, the fifteenth-century *Deb ther sngon po* and the later *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, which is essentially a lineage history of the highly successful 'Phags pa lha incarnation series.[32] It may be the case that the gradual shift from the sites associated with the *Mitra khrid drug* in the *Deb ther sngon po* (the Smyug tshal monastery in Lho brag[33]) to the people and areas represented in the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung* (from Central Tibet to the eastern Khams region) represents this dissemination "from North to North."[34]

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[32] This may come as no surprise as the first 'Phags pa lha (1439-1487) was the son of Ku cor Rtogs ldan. He founded Bkra shis chos lung monastery in Nyang po and Nyi zla thang in Long smad. The dearth of available texts relating to this lineage does not imply that no other sources contain information about this lineage; in fact, titles of non-extant texts suggest that this lineage continues to be practiced up to the present time.

[33] 'Gos lo tsā ba Gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, (Varanasi ed.), 1212.

[34] In fact, the last extant record of this tradition may be found in the seventh volume of the nine-volume collected writings of the nineteenth century scholar Tho yon 'Jam dbyangs 'phrin las, which seems to have been printed in Mongolia. See *Mi tra lha drug chab mdo'i zab chos*, available through TBRC (W13313).

LEAVING THE GURU

After Mitrayogin delivers his prophecy, Śāriputra prostrates to him, circumambulates him, and finally bows down, touching Mitrayogin's feet with his head. At this, the tiger and bear which sat to either side of the guru transformed into *jñāna ḍākiṇīs*.[35] Having made some final prayers, Śāriputra returns to Vajrāsana, where he reencounters the *jñāna ḍākiṇī* who originally sent him to Mitrayogin. She now delivers a second piece of travel advice.

> If you want to meet Mañjuśrī, go among the Tibetans, and at the [*piṭha*(?)] site called Bsam yas 'Ching bu, supplicate Ārya Mañjuśrī and you will meet him face-to-face.[36]

This is also considered to be a prophecy by Śāriputra. Being now familiar with the esoteric biography from the last chapter, we can reasonably assume that the location the *ḍākiṇī* describes is the cave at Bsam yas 'Chings phu[37] "which is like *Gṛdhrakūta* (*bya rgod phung po*)." The esoteric biography never states explicitly how he came to associate one of the mountains in Bsam yas 'Chings phu with *Gṛdhrakūta*, and this lineage biography never states how Śāriputra came to find the proper site.

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[35] It is difficult to know if these are meant to represent specific *ḍākiṇīs* without more thorough knowledge of the Mitra lineage. Since three different people are described as *jñāna ḍākiṇīs*, it may be safe to assume that this is a category term, and does not refer to the specific deity known as Jñānaḍākiṇī, the consort of the Vajrasattva multiform known as Jñānaḍāka.

[36] *khyod 'jam dbyangs dang 'jal bar 'dod na / bod gangs can gyi khrod du song la bsam yas 'ching bu bya ba'i gnas su 'phags pa 'jam dpal la gsol ba thob dang / zhal 'jal bar 'gyur ro*, 2b4-5.

[37] 'Ching bu in the lineage biography.

A further pressing question, at least for the history of the Bsam yas area, regards the association of this place with Mañjuśrī. As important as Bsam yas and 'Chings phu are to the history of Buddhism in Tibet, it is surprising that there has been no thoroughgoing scholarly study done on this constellation of holy sites. Looking at the *Bsam yas dkar chag*[38] or the more recent study *Bsam yas chos 'byung gangs can rgyan gyi me tog*[39], there is no prominent place given to Mañjuśrī apropos of this site. Any connection must be purely speculative, but we do know that Mañjuśrī is viewed as being incarnated as the Tibetan emperor Khri Srong lde btsan (742-800), who was based in the Bsam yas/Yar lung area.[40] We also know that the link between the emperor and the bodhisattva was not made until well after the

[38] Bshad sgra gung Dbang phyug rgyal po (1795-1864), *Bsam yas dkar chag dad pa'i sgo 'byed*, Gangs can rig mdzod 34, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 2000).

[39] Thub bstan rgyal mtshan, *Bsam yas chos 'byung gangs can rgyan gyi me tog*, (Dehra Dun, 2008).

[40] The association of Khri Srong lde btsen with the Bsam yas area probably arises from his building of the Bsam yas monastery. In later ecclesiastical histories such as the *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, the emperor's birth in Yar lung and building of the Bsam yas monastery comprises nearly the entire record of his life. See P. Sørensen, *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies*, 358-403; Bsod nams rgyal mtshan, *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1995), 198-222. In older sources such as the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the emperor is shown to move fairly regularly through the four districts of the archetypal Tibetan world. See B. Dotson, *The Old Tibetan Annals: An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History*, (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 128-133; E. Haarh, *The Yar-luṅ Dynasty: A Study with Particular Regard to the Contribution by Myths and Legends to the History of Ancient Tibet and the Origin and Nature of its Kings*, (København: Gad, 1969), 275. The link between Khri Srong lde btsen and Mañjusrī is made in the *Sba bzhed*. R.A. Stein, "Tibetica antiqua IV: The Tradition Relative to the Debut of Buddhism in Tibet," in *R.A. Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 194.

former's death.[41] It is therefore interesting to wonder about the possibility that *place* represented a significant factor in Khri Srong lde tsen identification with Mañjuśrī, that is, that it was the link between Bsam yas/Yar lung and both Mañjuśrī and Khri Srong lde btsan that made the link between Mañuśrī and Khri Srong lde btsan feasible.[42]

In any case, Śāriputra takes the *ḍākinī*'s prophecy seriously and journeys to Tibet. We are not told anything about intermediary points between Vajrāsana and Bsam yas (any mention of Nepal is once again absent), yet he does meet someone along the way in Tibet, Ārya 'O te.[43] Śāriputra offers him some muslin cloth and haritaki fruit (*a ru ra rnam rgyal*). Ārya 'O te seems to have been pleased with this offering, as was everyone else present, who then gained great faith in Śāriputra, the Mahāpaṇḍita.

After arriving in Bsam yas 'Ching phu, Śāriputra spends a year engaged in the ritual accomplishment of the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī. He is successful and has a vision of the *bodhisattva*, who tells him, "The unmistaken (*ma log*) meaning of the middle-way (*dbu ma'i don*) will arise in your mind-stream"[44], which seems to be another prophecy of Śāriputra's coming enlightenment.

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[41] R.A. Stein, "Tibetica antiqua IV: The Tradition Relative to the Debut of Buddhism in Tibet," in *R.A. Stein's Tibetica Antiqua*, 191-230.

[42] The same may then be true for the connections between Srong brtsan sgam po, Avalokiteśvara, and Lha sa, as well as between Ral pa can, Vajrapāṇi, and U rgyan dar.

[43] = 'O lde? Does 'Phags pa 'O te refer to Mañjuśrī himself?

[44] *dbu ma'i don phyin ci ma log de'i dus su rgyud la skyes pa yin*, 2b7-8.

Śāriputra then travels from Bsam yas to Gtsang, apparently to Upper Myang (*nyang stod*), where he meets Sha ra'i dpon chen Kun dga' 'phags.[45] The latter offers the Indian paṇḍita a significant amount of gold, and requests that he stay there. Śāriputra then agrees to stay for a year. While residing there, he received a number of requests for *vinaya* transmissions, less so for tantra. These requests came from people like the abbot of Gnas rnying[46], Ngam rings[47] Bka' bcu ba, and Gzhung rgya smras pa Byang chub 'od zer. The texts he transmitted were the *vinaya* of

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[45] Rgyal rtse Shar kha ba kun dga' 'phags pa (1357-1412), whose seat was at Dpal 'khor chos sde. Again, this would indicate his passage though, or return to, Myang much earlier than the 1414 date given in the *Myang chos 'byung*.

[46] Gnas rnying is a monastery in Nyang stod, Gtsang province, near Rgyal rtse, originally patronized by the Mgos and Rgya clans. It was probably founded between 821/2-836 by Rgya 'Jam dpal gsang ba, and after the *bstan pa phyi dar* became affiliated with the Bka' gdams pa school. However, an eclectic mix of traditions continued to be practiced there, including Sa skya pa, Rnying ma, Bka' brgyud, and Zhi byed traditions. The main histories of this monastery include Bswi gung nyams med rin chen, *Gnas rnying skyes bu rnams kyi rnam thar*; also, *Gnas rnying chos 'byung* (TBRC accession number W1CZ897), though it also appears frequently in the *Myang chos 'byung* and Dpal 'byor bzang po, *Rgya bod yig tshang*, (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1985). See R. Vitali, "The History of the Lineages of Gnas rnying, Summarized as its 'Ten Greatnesses,'" in *Tibet, Past and Present*, Proceedings of the Ninth Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 81-108; also mentioned in G. Tucci, *Gyantse and its Monasteries: English Version of Indo-Tibetica IV*, (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1989), 43-44, 142-5. Tucci used the *Gnas rnying dkar chag* as one of his sources, also mentioned in the *Myang chos 'byung*. This monastery was also called Rdo rje gdan, which supports the prophecy given to Śāriputra in the rnam thar. Interestingly, it was known for an ecumenical approach to Buddhism, as was Dpal 'khor chos sde, which may have suited Śāriputra's temperment.

[47] Possible affiliate of Ngam ring chos sde, the seat of the rulers of the La stod byang myriarchy. This may have occasioned Śāriputra's meeting with Bdag chen Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395-1475), who is reported by Dalai Lama V to have been a disciple of the Indian paṇḍita. See F.K. Ehrhard, "Further Renovations of the Svayambhunath-Stupa (13th-17th century)," *Ancient Nepal. Journal of the Department of Archaeology*, 123-125 (Apr.-Sept. 1991): 10-20. The relationship between Śāriputra and Byang bdag will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

indeterminate tradition, the *Bka' dri gsum rgya pa*[48], *Lnga bcu pa*[49], *Me tog phreng rgyud*[50], and others unnamed.

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[48] This text may have some relation to Dul ba lha (Vinītadeva), *Tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa* (*Triśatakārikāvyākhyāna*), trans. Buddhaśānti and Dge ba'i blo gros, PEKING no. 5628, *'dul ba'i 'grel pa*, hu 184b3-312a8 [vol. 127, 128-179]; DEGE no. 4126, *'dul ba*, shu 162b3-264a7; NARTHANG hu 184a2-306; GOLDEN 3627, hu 248b1 [127-1-1]. Note too that Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen (b. 1405) wrote a *vinaya* commentary entitled *Dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i tīka.* Curiously, he is the teacher of Gong dkar rdo rje gdan pa Kun dga' rnam rgyal (1432-1496), whose name bears witness to the proliferation of Tibetan Vajrāsanas. It was Kun dga' rnam rgyal who founded Gong dkar rdo rje gdan (a dual monastery/palace), and one can only wonder at what his inspiration might have been.

[49] Possibly Kamalaśīla, *Dge sbyong gi k'a ri k'a lnga bcu pa'i tshig gi brjed byang du byas pa* (*Śramaṇapañcāśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*), PEKING no. 5630, *'dul ba'i 'grel pa*, u 5a4-35b1 (vol.127, p.184-196); DEGE no. 4128, *'dul ba*, su 4b2-28a7; NARTHANG u 5b4-34b4; GOLDEN 3629, u 5b4 [3-4-4].

[50] Possibly Sa ga'i lha (Viśākhadeva), *'Dul ba me tog phreng rgyud* (*Vinayakārikā*, *'Dul ba'i tshig le'ur byas pa*), trans. Jayākara, Prajākīrti, Vānaratna, Rong ston shes bya kun rig. PEKING no. 5625, *'dul ba'i 'grel pa*, hu 1-67a8 [vol. 127, 53-81]; DEGE no. 4123, *'dul ba*, shu 1b1-63a6; NARTHANG hu 1b1-71a1; GOLDEN no. 3624, hu 1b1 [1-2-1], though there are at least four commentary texts with similar titles dating through the late-14th to mid-15th century. The two authors whose dates coincide with Śāriputra hail from the Narthang and Lhasa regions, so perhaps they attended the teachings, or it was just a popular *vinaya* text at the time. For instance, there is the *'Dul ba me tog phreng rgyud kyi mtshan nyid byung tshul nor bu'i phreng ba* (TBRC accession number W14164) by the Sa skya scholar Rgyal ba rin chen (1328-1386). He is counted as one of the Mi nyag mkhas dbang lnga, and in his short biography included in the collected biographies of these five scholars, he is said to have been instructed in this text by the Snar thang scholar Bsam gtan bzang po sometime before returning to Mi nyag at the age of thirty-seven (1364). See *Mi nyag 'Jam dbyangs grags pa'i rang rnam* (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrung khang, 2005), 302-304. There is also the *'Dul ba me tog phren rgyud kyi rnam 'grel tshig don rab tu gsal ba'i ni 'od* (TBRC accession number W8469) by Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367-1449), who among other things founded 'Phan po na lendra. According to Rong ston's colophon to this commentary, he wrote it at "Bod kyi rdo rje gdan" Gsang phu ne'u thog on the basis of the explanations of his teacher, Dmar ston chos rje. It can be found in the ninth volume of his gsung 'bum (358 ff., pp. 1-716). Rong ston also translated the Sanskrit original, as did Vanaratna, among others.

Curiously, there is no overlap between the *vinaya* texts mentioned here and the ones Śāriputra is said to have studied in his exoteric biography. Of the two sets, the texts named in this lineage biography were by far the more popular in Tibet, and witnesses exist in nearly all the extant canons. Also noteworthy is the fact that these *vinaya* texts, initially popular at the time of the early Bka' gdams, seem to enjoy another wave of popularity around the same time that Śāriputra is in Tibet. These two facts may be related, but we cannot ascertain which factor was the cause and which the effect. That is, we do not know if there was a surge in popularity of these texts in Tibet which occasioned people asking Śāriputra if he knew or studied them, or if Śāriputra introduced a new lineage of these texts to Tibet, spurring on their new popularity.[51] While we can state for certain that commentaries on these texts were written in the places where Śāriputra traveled, this does not really solve our problem. Part of this difficulty stems from the fact that we do not really know exactly when Śāriputra first arrived in Tibet (a problem we will return to below), and therefore we do not know if these texts came into the purview of Tibetan scholars before or after Śāriputra's arrival.

Then, some of the religious from Rnam sdings monastery request Śāriputra to give a reading transmission of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (*Mtshan brjod*).[52] As we know, Mañjuśrī plays an important role in Śāriputra's life, and therefore it is perhaps of little surprise that the occasion on which he gave this reading transmission was attended by wonders, including an earthquake and a rain of

[51] This is a subject for future research.

[52] Śāriputra mentions studying this text in his exoteric biography (4a6).

flowers. These portents incite faith in people, and give Śāriputra a reputation as a "magical paṇḍita" (*sprul pa'i paṇ tri ta*). His fame quickly spreads to China, where the biography reports, "the Chinese emperor heard it said: 'An extraordinary Indian paṇḍita has come to Tibet.'"[53] The emperor then sends three chariots as part of an invitation party to fetch Śāriputra.[54]

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[53] *rgya nag lta'i mi rgyal pos / bod du rgya gar gyi paṇ tri ta khyad par can 1 phebs 'dug zer ba gsan*, 3a2.

[54] One should note the difference in tone between the Yongle emperor's invitations to Karma pa V, and the command issued by the Hongwu emperor to Karma pa III Rang byung rdo rje (1284-1339), telling him to come to court and act as the Imperial Preceptor (*dishi* 帝師). The record of the invitation to Karma pa V is contained in the Ming annals (*Ming shi lu*, 9: 310). The Tibetan version (*nged sngar byang phyogs su yod pa'i dus su / khyed kyi mtshan bzang po thos nas lan gcig mjam bsam pa'i sems bzhin*) is recorded in Dpa'o gtsug lag phreng ba, *Chos'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, (Beijing ed., 517-18 [= Varanasi ed., 1001; Bejing 2006 ed., 509]), and in Si tu paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas, *Bsgrub rgyud karma kam tshang brgyud pa rin po che'i rnam bar thar pa rab 'byams nor bu zla ba chu shel gyi phreng ba*, (New Delhi: 1972), 227b-228a. The text also appears in H.E. Richardson, "The Karma-pa Sect: A Historical Note," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1959): 100 and H. Stoddard [Karmay], *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, 115-6; and translations in H. Stoddard [Karmay], *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*, 75-6 and Satō Hisashi 佐藤長, "Gen matsu Min sho no Chibetto josei 元末明初的西藏形勢," in *Mindai Man-Mō shi kenkyū* 明代滿蒙史研究, ed. Tamura Jitsuzō 田村實造 (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1963), 540-1. An edited version appears in D. Schuh, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche*, 180-81. See discussions of this invitation in Hoong Teik Toh, "Early Buddhism in Ming China," 126; also, E. Sperling, "Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet: An Examination of the Proposition that the Early Ming Emperors Adopted a 'Divide and Rule' Policy Toward Tibet," (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1983), 74ff. The more threatening "invitation" to Karma pa III is found in the memoirs of the recent Tulku Urgyen, who apparently saw the original invitation among the papers collected in the Karmapas' see at Mtshur phu. See Tulku Urgyen Rinpoche, *Blazing Splendor: The Memoirs of the Dzogchen Yogi Tulku Urgyen Rinpoche*, as told to Erik Pema Kunsang and Marcia Binder Schmidt, (Boudhanath: Rangjung Yeshe Publications, 2005), 15.

The scene then shifts from Gtsang to Lha sa. In describing this move, Śāriputra is called "the invited one" (*gdan drangs pa*).[55] Thus, we can be confident that he received the imperial invitation in Gtsang before going to Lha sa. This is an important part of the timetable of Śāriputra's movements, since it is in Lha sa that he meets Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, who is described in this biography as his predestined student. We do not know if the Chinese delegation traveled with him to Lha sa, but we can be fairly certain that he must have spent a considerable amount of time sojourning here before leaving for China, as he had to meet and transmit a cycle of teachings to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen and do rituals in front of the Jobo. This will be an important factor to consider later when attempting to determine when Śāriputra entered China.

Śāriputra goes to meet the Jo bo Śākyamuni, the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni as a young man. This image is widely held to be the most culturally and spiritually potent living image in Tibet.[56] It should also be recalled from Chapter Two that, at least in the Tibetan imaginary, this image was thought to have originally been housed on the second floor of the Vajrāsana Mahābodhi vihāra. In

[55] It is fairly clear that this epithet refers to Śāriputra – the invited – and not the Chinese delegation – the inviters – both from the direction of movement (Gtsang to Lha sa, West to East), as well as from the context of his meeting with the Jo bo, which highlights Śāriputra. It may be worth noting that *gdan grangs pa* is also a common epithet for *gter ma* treasures. Thus, it undoubtedly referred to the recipient of an invitation, not the issuing party.

[56] For an in-depth study of this image, see especially C. Warner, "The Precious Lord: The History and Practice of the Cult of the Jo bo Śākyamuni in Lhasa, Tibet," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2008).

Tibet, it was housed originally in the Ra mo che temple, but still during the Tibetan imperial period, it was moved to the Lha sa 'phrul snang temple. Well before Śāriputra's arrival, it became the centerpiece of this temple, which was often popularly called the *Jo khang*, or "residence of the Jo bo." As discussed above, this temple was also called "the second Vajrāsana."

Therefore, when Śāriputra enters the Ra sa 'phrul snang temple, it is something of a homecoming, as he himself has come from the "first" Vajrāsana, where another, similar image of the Buddha Śākyamuni was housed. The encounter between these two displaced Indians – Śāriputra and the Jo bo – is marked by the miraculous speaking of the image.[57] As a gesture of veneration, Śāriputra regilds the image and offers a silver butter lamp. He then circumambulates the Jo bo a hundred times, at which point the latter utters a slew of prophecies, only one of which was recorded:

> Before *nirvāṇa*, you will be reborn in Tuṣita heaven. Known as Grags pa mthas yas, all who meet with you will be reborn in the presence [of] *Kun mi pham* [= *Ajita/Maitreya*].[58]

Five-colored light rays then issued from the Jo bo's heart, dissolving into the heart of Śāriputra. This produces in Śāriputra a *samādhi* of profound peace, free of mental elaborations. The interview with the Jo bo Śākyamuni image continues, but the narrator does not reveal its contents.

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[57] During this encounter, the physical appearance of the Jo bo is never described. This is unfortunate, as his appearance changed during this period, a result of Tsong kha pa's (highly controversial) addition of an ornate crown and headdress.

[58] *khyod ni mya ngan 'das 'og du dga' ldan gnas su skye bar 'gyur / grags pa mtha' yas mtshan gsol cing / khyod rang khrad tshad thams cad kun mi pham drung du skye bar 'gyur*, 3a3-4.

From here, the scene shifts to a garden "on top of Lha sa's courtyard" (*lha sa'i khyams kyi steng gi 'dung ra*, 3a5), where Śāriputra was staying. This is an interesting turn of phrase as it gets to the heart of the significance of the place-name *lha sa*. When Śāriputra refers to Lha sa, is he designating the nascent city, or a specific place within it? As Sørensen notes with reference to the construction of dikes in Lha sa, at this time (the early fifteenth century), there was hardly anything in this location except the Ra sa 'phrul snang temple,[59] so it is entirely conceivable that for Śāriputra at least, and probably for many others, *lha sa* referred above all to the temple housing the Jo bo Śākyamuni. In addition, when Śāriputra states that he went to Lha sa, he immediately talks about the Jo bo. Tellingly, he does not designate any further location other than Lha sa – as opposed to naming the place within the "city" of Lha sa where the Jo bo resided. Therefore, it seems likely that "on top of Lha sa's courtyard" refers to a specific site, not an indefinite garden somewhere in the city, but a "garden" above the Ra sa 'phrul snang's courtyard.

There, he meets someone named Kīrtiratna (*'gyir ti rad na*), an only slightly veiled reference to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen,[60] whose biography immediately follows Śāriputra's in this manuscript, both penned by Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen's student Ku cor Rtogs ldan.[61] There is some unreported conversation between the

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[59] Ku cor Rtogs ldan, one of Śāriputra's biographers, himself was an early expert in the flood-control of Lhasa. See P. Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plain*, 488 n. 150.

[60] Tib. *grags pa* = Skt. *kīrti*; Tib. *rin chen* = Skt. *ratna*. See the short biography of this figure in Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba, *Chos 'byung mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, (Beijing ed.), 519-20.

[61] Note that both Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen and Ku cor Rtogs ldan are variously given the epithets *rtogs ldan* and *rgyal khams pa*.

two, but there are no longer any anchors in time or space, so we can not be certain how long their relationship lasted, nor the speed at which it progressed.

Immediately after their meeting is recorded, someone – presumably Śāriputra – seems to challenge the other: "Since you repeatedly request (*zhus zhus*) the profound and vast doctrines, saying you are one who has perfected (*'byongs po*) dream yoga, show me!"[62] Thereupon, Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen begins practicing dream yoga. As Śāriputra has himself perfected this practice, he proceeds to inspect the quality of his student's meditative equipoise. He then "finished the designs of Vajrāsana" (*rdo rje gdan gyi bkod pa zad*, 3a7). This statement could mean that Śāriputra designed another replica of the Mahābodhi temple or image while in Lhasa. This may have been the same design that he gave to the Yongle emperor, or may have represented a new design. It could also refer to any design specific to the Vajrāsana area.[63] In the colophon of the *Esoteric Biography*, Śāriputra is said to have "set down [the biography] in writing" (*yi ger bkod*). This use of *bkod* may imply that *rdo rje gdan gyi bkod pa zad* refers to Śāriputra giving Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen a set of religious instructions specific to Vajrāsana.

The subject shifts quickly to either Śāriputra or Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen calling forth relics in the form of three teeth of the Buddha's secretary and relative,

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[62] *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i gdams pa zhus zhus pas / khyod rmi lam 'byongs po 'dug zer bas shod*, 3a6.

[63] We know that there were other lineages specific to Vajrāsana, such as its particular enumeration of the eighty-four *mahāsiddha*s in the *Caturaśītisiddhābhyarthanā* by Ratnākaragupta, translated into Tibet by Rdo rje gdan pa as *Grub thob brgyad cu rtsa bzhi'i gsol 'debs*. See the comparison chart assembled in U. von Schroeder, *Empowered Masters: Tibetan Wall Paintings of Mahāsiddhas at Gyantse*, (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2006), 197-211.

Ānanda. There is then another change as Śāriputra relates seeing some silken threads on Chinese or Indian clothing. He then calls his attendants together and relates Mitrayogin's prophecy:

> According to the words of lord Mitrayogin, "One who has crossed over (*thod rgal ba cig*), the yogin who is the worthy vessel of generation and completion of my six deities will arise from among the snowlanders in the Northern direction. As a mark of the very one (*de nyid*) who is the worthy vessel, there will be in his middle/navel, the mark of a *vajra*, and on his right thigh (*sla* [= *brla*] *g.yas*), a mark like the eye of a wrathful deity. Perfect the illusory body and dream yogas and some confidence will come to you. To that one, teach this doctrine as a one-to-one lineage, and until seven generations, the blessings by these deities will arise for all (*sha stag 'byung*). And having gone to the northern direction, he will make this doctrine spread and flourish." That one prophesied is you.[64]

Śāriputra thus designates Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen as the lineage-holder foretold by Mitrayogin.[65] He then gives his spiritual heir all the instructions and authorizations attendant to the "six tutelary deities" (*thugs dam lha drug*), by which we should understand the six deities making up the *Mi tra khrid drug*.[66] There is no further description of this cycle of practices other than the name. Indeed, legitimizing Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen as his spiritual heir seems to be the

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[64] *rje brtsun mi tra 'jo ki gsung ba la nga'i lha drug po'i skyed rdzogs snod dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor pa thod rgal pa 1 byang phyogs gangs can gyi khrod nas 'byung / de nyid snod ldan yin pa'i rtags su lte ba na rdo rje'i sme ba dang / brla g.yas nang na sme ba khrod bo'i spyan 'dra ba yod pa / rgyu lus dang rmi lam 'byongs shing khyod yid ches pa 1 yong / de la gdams pa 'di chig rgyud du ston dang / mi rabs bdun tshun chad lha 'di rnam kyis byin gyis rlobs pa sha stag 'byung zhing / byang phyogs nas ?i? dag nyams su long dar zhing rgyas par 'gyur ro / ces*, 3a8-3b1.

[65] We are left to assume that Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen had the requisite birthmarks and proficiency in illusory body yoga, as nothing more is stated on these points.

[66] As noted above, this doctrine is named *Mi tra lha drug* in the nineteenth-century witness.

culmination of this narrative, which is another reason why I term it a lineage biography rather than a personal or spiritual biography of Śāriputra himself.

Just like the Jo bo, Śāriputra gives many other unrecorded prophecies after his consecration of Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen. The narrator records that someone, perhaps Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, asked to write down Śāriputra's testament. Śāriputra vehemently denied this request, in a manner reminiscent of his teacher's abhorrence of writing as recorded in his esoteric biography. He tells Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen that there will be another (in this case, Ku cor Rtogs ldan) who will write such things down. As for Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen himself, he should be wary of "showing off" his spiritual realization.[67] In fact, if he should feel that it is impossible not to tell others about his greatness, it is better for him to go off to the wilderness and hide rather than give in to this temptation, since this type of braggadocio is the cause of pervasive obstacles.

Śāriputra's final piece of advice to Grags pa rin chen is that it is possible to meet with Mitrayogin himself should he desire to do so. He must simply dedicate himself to this task by making supplication prayers. The import and impact of this statement should not be underestimated, as in at least one history of the Bka' brgyud sect descending from Ku cor Rtogs ldan, the crowning achievement of the lives of exemplary spiritual practitioners of the *Mitra khrid drug* lineage was in fact to meet Mitrayogin "face-to-face"[68] just prior to their deaths.

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[67] This is a telling statement of Śāriputra's understanding of the purpose of biographical writing.

[68] Cf. *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, 22, 80.

Finally, it was time for Śāriputra to obey the summons to China. We are not told the amount of time that separated his arrival in Lha sa from his departure, but it seems to have encompassed the entire span of his relationship with Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen (alias Kīrtiratna). As we shall see in the next chapter, Tibetan sources record him entering Tibet in 1414, which is the same year the Chinese sources record him entering China. Given the sheer amount of activity he accomplished in Tibet, coupled with the amount of time needed for a trip from the Nepal-Tibet border to the Tibet-China border, one or both of these dates must be mistaken.[69] However, we may be fairly certain that Śāriputra's Chinese escort would not suffer his residence in Lha sa for too long, and that Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen must therefore have been a fairly quick learner. At any rate, their relationship did not last long before Śāriputra departed for China. His student bade him

[69] We know that the Yongle emperor issued an invitation to the Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa on March 10, 1403. As Sperling describes it, the Karma pa may not have received the invitation until the following year (1404), and definitely did not set out for Beijing until the middle of 1406, arriving in early January of 1407. See Sperling, "Ming Policy towards Tibet," 74-9. This gives us a travel time of approximately six months between the Karma pa's seat and Nanjing. Śāriputra's travel time between the Myang valley in Gtsang and Beijing may have been somewhat longer, but given that the Yongle emperor waited four years for the Karma pa, some delay by Śāriputra in Lha sa would probably have been tolerated. As we will see in the next chapter, the Wutai Shan inscription about Śāriputra states that the Taizu emperor sent emissaries for the (presumably fifth) Karma pa, and at that time requested Śāriputra to come with them to Beijing. He refused, not arriving until 1414. This inscription must be referring to the Yongle emperor (Taizong), not the Hongwu emperor (Taizu), but it is unclear about the date Śāriputra was invited. The Karma pa was summoned to the imperial court on more than one occasion. As noted above, the original invitation was issued in 1403, but another delegation was dispatched in 1406 to retrieve the Tibetan hierarch. See E. Sperling, "Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet," 79. It should be noted that they found him at the Karma Monastery in Khams (*idem*, 105 n. 15) while the Wutai Shan biography definitely states that the emissaries went to Dbus Gtsang. Yongle also sent a letter to De bzhin gshegs pa in March, 1413 (*idem*, 98).

farewell, asking for his protection. He tells him to make aspiration prayers for their reunion in Tuṣita heaven, which indicates that he did not believe that he would return to Tibet. Indeed as we saw earlier, he died in Beijing. Another important detail of this parting lies in the words Śāriputra uses when making this statement about their future meeting. He says, "we two will meet in Tuṣita" (*bdag cag gnyis dga' ldan du 'jal bar 'dug*, 3b4-5), which allows us to at least conjecture that Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen was the only one saying goodbye to Śāriputra, that is, he was his only student at that time in Lha sa. While we shall make much of the important of Śāriputra's other disciple Jñānaśrī, we can say that as far as the lineage of the *Mitra khrid drug* is concerned, Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen may very well have been the only recipient, and he had not yet introduced it or Śāriputra to his own student Ku cor Rtogs ldan.[70]

The biography ends with a short colophon stating that the narrative was "composed" (*sbyar*) by the *rgyal khams pa* Grags pa rin chen at the holy site of Dags lha sgam po (Dwags la sgam po). This statement may indicate that Grags pa rin chen dictated the narrative to someone else, such as Ku cor Rtogs ldan, who then wrote it down. I name Ku cor Rtogs ldan as the possible scribe, since the biography of Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen begins just one line below the conclusion of the Śāriputra biography. The handwriting in both narratives is the same, and the authorial statement of the latter biography clearly names Ku cor as the one who requested the biography of his teacher. Nothing is for certain, as in neither

[70] As we will see below, Ku cor Rtogs ldan was present in Lha sa at around this time, but may not have met Śāriputra or Grags pa rin chen yet.

colophon is a specific person designated as the "writer" (*bris pa*) of the narrative. Yet, if this lineage was really "one-to-one," then it is likely that Ku cor penned both biographies.

It may be worth noting that in both the catalog of the Northwest University for Minorities in Lanzhou and the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* which contain these two biographies, there is no separate title page for the biography of Grags pa rin chen, and both are listed under the aegis of Śāriputra's biography. Grags pa rin chen's biography may be seen as an *addendum* to the biography of his teacher, Śāriputra. Otherwise, we might see these two biographies as a nascent collection of masters of the *Mi tra khrid drug* lineage.[71]

After Śāriputra's departure from (presumably) Lha sa, he leaves the purview of Tibetan history completely. There are no records of his travels to China, or his meetings with the Ming emperors. This should not come as a surprise, given the extremely refracted nature of the narratives we have been studying. Although we cannot make too many judgments about the exoteric biography, given that it is not available to us *in toto*, it seems that each biography is concerned with a different region or lineage in Tibet. All three biographies highlight Śāriputra's affiliation with Vajrāsana, but once he enters Tibet, they find their own centers. The exoteric

[71] As Carl Yamamoto has argued, this sort of extended description of lineage masters may represent the foundation of the biographical genre in Tibet. C. Yamamoto, "Reading Lama Zhang's Life: Textual Economies and the Birth of Genres" (paper presented at the 15th Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, Emory, Georgia, June 23-28, 2008). However, if these two biographies do represent an early attempt at narrating the lives of the masters of the *Mi tra khrid drug* lineage, we must then ask how this effort then managed to elide Śāriputra from the lineage as represented in the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung.*

biography seems very concerned with the miraculous occurrences in the area of 'Chings phu, whereas the lineage biography is centered around the miracle in Lha sa. Perhaps a more important distinction between the two is that the esoteric biography features the role of Śāriputra's Tibetan disciple Jñānaśrī, whereas the lineage biography features Grags pa rin chen. We are left to wonder how the exoteric biography confronts Śāriputra's foray into Tibet, particularly if it gives a larger place to Śāriputra's activities in Gtsang Myang yul, since it is from this region that we have the most evidence for Śāriputra outside of his own biographical literature.

It is to this genre of literature that we must now turn with a view to reconstruct the nature of Śāriputra's time in Gtsang. Specifically, we will look at the possible dates he may have entered Gtsang, and consider the possibility that he made more that one foray into Tibet. This represents an attempt to contextualize the biographies. In this vein, we will also look at the historical material relating to those closest to Śāriputra and the lineage of the *Mi tra khrid drug*, such as Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen and Ku cor Rtogs ldan.

CHAPTER SIX:

HISTORICAL TRACES

PART I: ŚĀRIPUTRA IN TIBET – HISTORICAL LITERATURE

The two main texts available which describe Śāriputra in Gtsang are the *Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs gshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs*, often referred to as simply the *Myang chos 'byung*, and the *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, which itself is sometimes referred to as the *Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags kyi rnam thar*. Both these texts were studied in some detail by Tucci in his *magnum opus*, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, and then later again by Eberto Lo Bue in various works. Both scholars necessarily had to take account of the presence of Śāriputra.

Tucci came to the conclusion that Śāriputra may have been a pseudonym for Vanaratna,[1] which may not have been an unreasonable guess (foregrounded as such

[1] Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, (Roma: Libreria dello Stato, 1949), 2: 703 n. 819: "On Śāriputra, Śāriputrasvāmin, or Śākyaśrīśāriputra I found no information: except he was the master of Nam mkha' grags bzang of Byang. See Chron. of the fifth Dalai Lama, p. 632. A little after him Paṇḍit Nags kyi rin chen, Vanaratna came to Tibet in the year 1426: since he did not find many disciples he went back to Nepal: then he was invited by the Si tu Rab bstan and therefore he went to Rgyang rtse...From the same text we gather that he was then invited by the Chos rgyal Grags pa 'byung gnas, so that he spent his time partly in Rtse thang and partly in Sne'u gdong [*sic*]. Among his pupils the DT mentions the prince of Byang who, as we saw, is said to have also been the disciple of Śāriputra. It is probably that Nags rin chen and Śāriputra are one and the same person. The only difficulty concerns the date of his arrival which as we saw, is 1413 for the Chronicles of Gyantse and 1426 for DT. It is

by Tucci) at the time, given the lack of robust biographical material for either Śāriputra or Vanaratna available to Tucci. As we shall see, Tucci was not the last to conflate these two Indian paṇḍitas; no less a scholar than Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las did the same in his recent encyclopedia.[2] With the publication of 'Gos lo tsā ba's lengthy biography of Vanaratna and the discovery of the three biographies of Śāriputra, we can now say without hesitation that these were two very different people, albeit compatriots and contemporaries.

With the new evidence available to us, we are able correct some of the guesswork of previous scholars such as Tucci, and dismiss the quick conclusions of others. The most pressing point to ascertain is when and why Śāriputra came to Tibet. Most scholars who took notice of Śāriputra thought that he came originally at the behest of the Chinese emperor, who sent an embassy through Myang on their way to Nepal to fetch the Indian *paṇḍita*. They also reportedly carried funds to

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not impossible that DT instead of Grags pa 'byung gnas meant Grags pa rgyal mtshan, who in fact is usually known as chos rgyal; a title which the author of DT attributes in this passage to Grags pa 'byung gnas." For an updated account of the travels of Vanaratna, see F.-K. Ehrhard, "Spiritual Relationships Between Rulers and Preceptors: The Three Journeys of Vanaratna (1384-1468) to Tibet," in *The Relationship Between Religion and State (chos srid zung 'brel) in Traditional Tibet*, (Lumbini: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2004), 245-266. That this was in fact Chos rgyal Grags pa 'byung gnas (1414-1445), not Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1374-1432), who invited Vanaratna to Sne'u gdong is confirmed by a statement of Shar pa Ye shes rgya mtsho (1404-1473) in Blo gsal bstan skyong (b. 1804), *Dpal ldan zhwa lu pa'i bstan pa la bka' drin che'i skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam thar lo rgyus*, (Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1971), 168.4-169.2 (cited in Ehrhard, *idem*, 246-7).

[2] *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 2307. In his entry for the water-horse year 1414, he states *Tā ming gong ma yung los rgya gar paṇ chen nags kyi rin chen be cing du gdan drangs* ("The Ming emperor Yongle invited the Indian mahāpaṇḍita Vanaratna to Beijing"). Lo bzang 'phrin las has no separate entry for Vanaratna, so I am unable to ascertain his source for this statement. Vanaratna never went to China, and did not enter Tibet until 1426.

renovate the Svayambhūnātha caitya, located in the Kathmandu valley. The history of this renovation is the only link between Śāriputra and Nepal currently available, and therefore bears close scrutiny.

Franz-Karl Ehrhard brought attention to the mention of Śāriputra in the five-folio *Dus gsum sangs rgyas tham cad kyi thugs kyi rten 'phags pa shing kun dkar chag* in 1991 and revisited it in 2007.[3] He translates the relevant passage as follows:

> Then the *yaṣṭi* broke. Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra set it up [again]. After faithful persons such as the Great Sovereign [Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1432)] from dBus, the myriarchs of [La-stod] lHo and [La-stod] Byang, and the Sher[-pa] *mkhan-po* of Khams Mi-nyag offered countless wealth and acted as donors, the king of Nepal, Śrī Jayajotirmalladeva (regnal years 1408-1428) acted as the main supervisor [of the renovation]. Having praised the assembled noblemen (*bhāro*) in an official writing, he called together the craftsmen under his charge. The parasol together with the accompanying discs was completed in a proper manner on the fifteenth day of the fourth [Tibetan] month in the snake year [=1413]. The request letters [for donations] on the occasion of these [activities] and the necessity of acting as supervisors at different times were attended to well by the great hosts, the pair of brothers [called] Yu-gu-li.[4]

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[3] F.-K. Ehrhard, "Further Renovations of Svayambunath Stupa"; F.-K. Ehrhard, "Old and New Tibetan Sources Concerning Svayaṃbhūnāth," *Zentralasiatische Studien* 36 (2007): 105-130. Ehrhard was not able to ascertain the authorship of this text, but does give the following information (108): "Although it is not yet possible to identify the persons responsible for the composition of this early register of Svayaṃbhūnāth, we can place them at least in the religious circles of the court of the Fifth Phag-mo-gru sDe-srid Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1442), the "sovereign" (*gong ma*) of sNe['u]-gdong and gDan-sa Thel in Central Tibet. The Sixth and Seventh Phag-mo gru sDe-srid, namely Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1414-1445) and Kun-dga' legs-pa (1433-1483), were both responsible for invitations to Mahāpaṇḍita Vanaratna to Tibet, and it was from the same circles that Lo-chen bSod-nams rgya-mtsho, the *lo-tsā-ba* who undertook the arduous journey to the south, came."

[4] Ehrhard, "Old and New Tibetan Sources Concerning Svayaṃbhūnāth," 112. This passage comes at the end of the manuscript, and we can thus assume that the text was originally written on the occasion of the 1413 renovation. It is worth noting that this represents one of the earliest records of a renovation of the Svayambhūnātha caitya, and perhaps the earliest mentioning specifically the

At first glance, this accords with the Nepāla Saṃvat 533 (AD 1412/3) inscription ascribed to Jayajyotirmalla, which states that this king renovated Svayambhūnātha. This inscription has been used to verify the 1413 renovation of the Svayambhūnātha *caitya*,[5] but we must remember that this inscription is found on the grounds of the Paśupatinātha temple, and in fact records his donation to that temple in NS 533. The renovation of the *caitya* is recorded as one of the epithets glorifying the king as "he who is bending under the load of fame gained by the restoration of the tope of Svayambhū and of the image of glorious Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara (Mañjuśrī) placed in the sanctuary on the top of famous Padmāchala."[6]

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replacement of the *yaṣṭi*. Perhaps the oldest renovation recorded follows the burning of the *caitya* by Sūratrāṇa Samadīna (Sultān Shams ud-dīn) in Nepāla Saṃvat 470 (November 19th, 1349), the renovation taking place some twenty-two years later in NS 492. I mention this to illustrate the fact that within Śāriputra's lifetime (and if the Chinese sources are to be believed, both the destruction and the subsequent renovation took place within his lifetime) Buddhist holy sites were being destroyed by hostile – politically and religiously – factions. Indeed, this represents the "first and only Muslim invasion in Nepalese history." These sites were also being rebuilt, even at a relatively long temporal distance. For other inscriptions commemorating early renovations of this *caitya*, see Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal*, 127 and 130; S. Lévi, *Le Népal: étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, (Paris: E. Laroux, 1905-8), 237. For the invasion leading to the burning of the Svayambhū *caitya* and the breaking of the Paśupati image, see Dh. Bajracarya, "Śamsuddin ko ākramaṇ," *Pūrṇimā* 8 (VS 2022): 6-13; Petech, op. cit., 124-5.

[5] Ehrhard used this to corroborate his initial findings in his 1991 article (15 n. 7), citing an early article by Theodore Riccardi which stated that the Jayajyotirmalla inscription was evidence of a renovation. See T. Riccardi, "Some Preliminary Remarks on a Newari Painting of Svayambūnāth," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 93, 3 (1973): 336 n. 11. Ehrhard does not restate this in his 2007 revisitation, perhaps having seen through the confusion.

[6] *Śrīpadmācalaśikharoparidharmmālayasthānāśritaśrīdharmmadhātuvāgīśvaramūrti-svayaṃbhucaityabhagnasthāpanamahākīrti*...B. Indrājī, *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal* (Bombay: Education Society Press, 1885), 22-3. While Riccardi (*idem*) states that this inscription is not specific about the kind of renovation that was done,

Therefore, we can only say that Jayajyotirmalla restored the *caitya* before the thirteenth day of the month of Māgha, NS 533 (= Sunday, January 15th, 1413[7]), when the inscription was written. That is, the restoration probably took place in 1412 at the earliest.

Recently, a new piece of evidence has come to light which sheds light on this problem. It is a *thyasaphu* recording the renovations of the Svayambhūnātha *caitya*. It mentions renovations at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. According to Alexander von Rospatt, who has studied this text, the script suggests that it was probably not written before the eighteenth century, but was likely based on earlier sources. Concerning the renovation carried out by Śāriputra, it is worth quoting von Rospatt in full.

> The renovation is also attested in a *thyasaphu* belonging to the private collection of the late Puṣparatna Bajracharya, one of the heirs of the *rājguruju* of Kathmandu. It provides a few more details, namely that the new *yaṣṭi* arrived at Svayambhū in *nepāla saṃvat* 532 on the twelfth day of the bright of *māgha* (corresponding roughly to February 1412), that it was ritually received atop the hillock some 20 days later on the second day of the bright half of *phālguna*, and finally that it was erected another ten days later on the twelfth day of the mentioned fortnight (i.e. roughly in March). The *thyāsaphu* adds that this happened during the reign of the glorious king Jaya Jotirmalla (regal years 1408-1428), and credits the "glorious Śāriputra" with the erection of the *yaṣṭi* (*... yilasi thaṅā dina|| rāja śrījayajotimalladeva| śrīśāliputrasyaṃ thaṅā śubha||*).[8]

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bhagnasthāpanam may indicate the broken *yaṣṭi* was replaced. Indrājī translates this term as "renovated," but as far as I can tell, it simply means setting up something that is broken, and has no specific connotation of "to renovate." Therefore, it could very well refer to the setting up of a new *yaṣṭi*.

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, v. 5, ed. E. Hutzsch, (Calcutta: Government of India Central Printing Office, 1898-9), appendix I, 77.

[8] A. von Rospatt, personal communication. In light of the *cakravartin-buddha-vajrāsana* relationship discussed in the first two chapters, the symbolism of the

While this evidence that Śāriputra renovated the Svayambhūnātha *caitya* in 1412 agrees with the Jayajotirmalla inscription, it seems to be at odds with the Tibetan witness. In the Tibetan text, Śāriputra is said to have installed the new *yaṣṭi* (Tib. *srog shing*) as part of the renovations overseen by Jayajotirmalla, which were completed on the fifteenth day of the fourth month of the Tibetan snake year. The colophon reports that the text itself was written on the full moon day of the first summer month of the water snake year. The one-year discrepancy seems strange if we assume that no chronological mistakes were made on the part of the Nepali or Tibetan witnesses. One explanation may be that the renovations simply took a long time to complete. It is certainly not difficult to imagine that after the new *yaṣṭi* was inserted, there followed an extended period of ritual and logistical labor before the parasol was replaced signaling the completion of repairs.[9] Indeed, the Svayambhūnātha *caitya* was renovated again in 2008, which took about a year to complete. However, with the hypothesis that the Tibetan text is correct, and the renovations were completed in mid-1413, we again run into the problem of the above discussed Paśupatinātha inscription which dates to January of 1413, and seems to assume that the renovations to Śvayambhū were complete. That is, of course, unless we take the phrase *bhagnasthāpanam* to refer to the *yaṣṭi*, and not

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(contested) king Jayajotirmalla's affiliation with the Indian monk Śāriputra in the restoration of the Svayambhū caitya (considered the center of the world in Newar Buddhism) should go without saying.

[9] The fifteenth day (the full moon) of the fourth Tibetan month would be a particularly auspicious day to complete the renovation, as it is the anniversary of the Buddha's enlightenment.

renovations in general. In addition, the inscription may simply be stating that the renovations were underway, and that the load of merit accruing to Jayajotirmalla did not have to wait for their completion. If this were the case, then all our evidence may agree.

In any case, what we can say for sure is that Śāriputra was in Nepal by 1412 at the latest. Therefore, any remarks about a 1413 Chinese delegation inviting Śāriputra from India are in need of correction. The scholars who suggest this ultimately based themselves on an erroneous comment made by Ricca and Lo Bue in their 1993 work on the history of the Rgyal rtse *caitya*. They state, "In the Water Snake year 1413 a large imperial delegation arrived from China on its way to India to invite Śākyaśrī Śāriputra, the abbot of Bodhgayā, to the Ming court."[10] This itself is based on a misreading of the Tibetan chronicles of Myang cited earlier. What these chronicles actually state is that in 1413 the Chinese emperor invited Śāriputra to China. The delegation sent to do this accomplished other things as well, including the emperor's wish (*gsol*) to whitewash the Svayambhūnātha *caitya*. There is no explicit statement that they went to India, or even Nepal for that matter, to invite Śāriputra to China.[11]

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[10] F. Ricca and E. Lo Bue, *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, 19.

[11] Lo Bue is more conservative in his earlier article "The Princes of Gyantse and their Role as Builders and Patrons of Arts," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Narita 1989* (Narita-shi, Chiba-Ken, Japan: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992), 559-573. There he states (562-3): "In 1413 the third Ming emperor, Chengzu (Yongle), invited the abbot of Bodhgayā, Śākyaśrī Śāriputra, to the imperial court. On his way to China, the Indian scholar was Rab-brtan-kun-bzang's distinguished guest and spent two months in 1414 at the monastery of lCang-ra." We will have more to say about this delegation below.

This statement by Ricca and Lo Bue seems to be based on Tucci's wrong interpretation of the record from the *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, resulting in the statement that Śāriputra arrived in Tibet in 1413. This is based on a misinterpretation of the Tibetan text where it states the time it took for the imperial delegation to arrive in the Myang valley, not for the arrival of Śāriputra in Myang.[12] This chronicle never reveals when Śāriputra arrived.

Ricca and Lo Bue give 1414 as the date of Śāriputra's arrival, basing themselves on the *Myang chos 'byung*, which gives this date as the year Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags (1389-1442) built an ornate bridge over the Myang chu river, which "thus preparing a suitable reception for the abbot of Bodhgayā, who was on his way to Tibet after a stay in the Nepal Valley, where in 1413 he had restored the *stūpa* at Svayambhū...thanks to the funds supplied by the emperor of China."[13] Again, there is no evidence that the emperor supplied funds for the restoration. He supplied the money for a whitewash, which is a different order of cost entirely. Had the Ming emperor given funds for a full restoration, it is extremely likely that this fact would have been noted.

It is also not known that in 1414 Śāriputra was "on his way" to Tibet. In fact, it seems that he was already in Tibet by the time the imperial delegation arrived in early 1414. While it would be a great sign of his prestige to think that Rab brtan kun

[12] *pho brang chen po nas lo 'di zla ba lnga pa'i tshes brgyad la thegs pa / 'di skor du zla ba bcu gnyis pa'i nang du phebs /* (*Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, 50).

[13] Ricca and Lo Bue, *The Great Stūpa of Gyantse*, 19.

bzang 'phags built this bridge for Śāriputra's arrival, we really have no evidence of this, although we do know that he consecrated the bridge.[14]

This 1413 delegation left Beijing March 11, 1413, with the chief eunuch Hou Xian bound for Nepal, and another eunuch Yang Sanbao sent to Dbu and Gtsang.[15] This does not quite accord with the Tibetan chronicle *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, which states that the delegation in question left the imperial palace on the eighth day of the fifth Tibetan month, arriving at Rgyal rtse sometime in the twelfth month.[16] That is, they did not reach Rgyal rtse, and certainly not Nepal, before 1414. Given the Ming emperor's seeming obliviousness to the Nepal political situation as outlined by Petech, it is hard to imagine that he even knew about Śāriputra before he entered Tibet.

The ultimate source of this confusion may be the assumptions made based on some remarks in the *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*. In the manuscript available to Tucci[17], the Chinese delegation, as we have seen, left the imperial court in the middle of the water-snake year (1413), arriving in Myang in the twelfth month of that year (1413/4). It then states (18b) that "After having distributed other gifts also, the Ta bzhin went to invite the lord

[14] *Myang chos 'byung*, 50.

[15] Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, 217. Cf. *Da Ming shilu* Yongle 137:3a.

[16] *Myang chos 'byung*, 50. This corroborates the travel time of Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa, who took six months to travel to the imperial court.

[17] 18a; *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 665. The library of the Chos skor monastery still has this history in two bound volumes, which may very well be the same manuscript Tucci copied. I was not able to make a thorough study of this manuscript when I saw it in 2007.

of the Law, the paṇḍita residing in Byang," which Tucci takes to indicate Śāriputra, most likely because in the previous page he was also referred to as the "Lord of Law the paṇḍita Śrīśāriputra" (18a). The manuscript states that this also occurred in the water-snake year, while acknowledging that other sources ascribe this to the second month of the horse year, that is, two months later. In this same wood-horse year, Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags builds his nine-arcade bridge over the Nyang chu river. Then (19a),

> To meet the paṇḍita famous under the name of Śākyaśrī Śāriputra mahāsvāmin, who was coming, invited by the Ta bzhin,[18] the saintly king went to 'Dol chung [= 'Dus byung]; the monks residing in the various monasteries of lower Nyang went to meet and honor that master with great ceremonies and processions. He then invited him into the temple of Lcang ra where, as above, he was greatly honored by the monks of upper (Nyang) beginning with that of Gnas rnying.[19]

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[18] *Ta (b)zhin* is the Tibetan phoneticization of *da ren* 大人. For Tib. *ta rin, ta zhin, ta bzhin* all indicating Ch. *da ren* (*ta žön*), which he translates as "excellency," see B. Laufer, "Loan-Words in Tibetan," *T'oung Pao* 17, 4/5 (1916): 527 n. 296; Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 686 n. 91. Given the data supplied by the Chinese records, discussed in the second part of this chapter, the *ta bzhin* probably stands for the imperial eunuch Hou Xian, who was sent in 1413 to deliver a letter from the Yongle emperor to the Karma pa V, De bzhin gshegs pa, as well as to invite Tsongkhapa. The latter refused the invitation, instead sending his disciple Byams chen chos rje Shākya ye shes, who arrived in Beijing on February 3, 1415. See E. Sperling, "The 1413 Ming embassy to Tsong-kha-pa and the Arrival of Byams-chen Chos-rje Shākya ye-shes at the Ming Court," *The Journal of the Tibet Society* 2 (1982): 105-8. The *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam thar* makes it clear that the *Ta (b)zhin* were very different from the emperor himself, who is designated by his name, Ye wang. For Tib. *Gong ma Ye wang rgyal po* as a designation of the Ming emperor Yongle, cf. *Dictionary of Ming Biography*, 355: "Zhudi 朱棣 (May 2, 1360 - August 12, 1424), third emperor of the Ming dynasty, was also known by his princely designation Yanwang 燕王, by his reign title Yongle 永樂 (1404-24), by his posthumous name Wenhuangdi 文皇帝, by the designation of his mausoleum, Changling 長陵, and by his two temple names, Taizong 太宗, and Chengzu 成祖." Ye wang therefore likely is a Tibetan phoneticization of the Chinese Yanwang 燕王.

[19] *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 665-6. I have preserved Tucci's translation, but have modified his Tibetan transcriptions to fit the Wylie system. The version of this

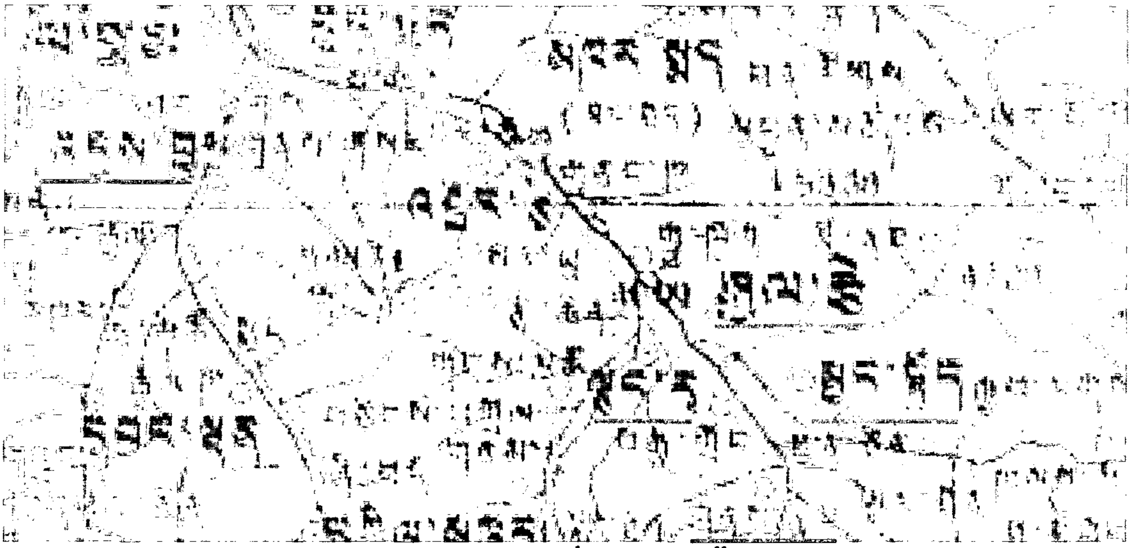


Figure 2: The Myang valley

Tucci and those following him must have assumed that when Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags went to 'Dus byung to meet Śāriputra, the latter had just come from

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history available to me says substantially the same thing: *'di lo* [= shing pho rta] *zla ba bzhi pa'i nang du/ dngos grub rin po che'i gter du gyur pa/ rgyud sde rgya mtsho lta bu'i khyon la dbang bsgyur zhing/ rim gnyis kyi nor bu'i cod paṇ 'dzin pa/ 'dul bya rnams kyi dbul ba sel ba la brtson pa chos kyi rje paṇ chen (dpal sha ri'i bu) shākya shri sha ri pu tra mahā svā mi (rje chen po) zhes mtshan yongs su grags pa de nyid/ ta bzhin (li chen) gyis spyan drangs nas phebs kyi yod pa'i bsu ba la/ chos kyi rgyal pos 'dus byung du phebs/ sa smad skor gyi dgon pa tha dad (dag) na bzhugs pa'i dge 'dun rnams kyi bsu ba/ ser sbreng sogs mchod pa rgyas par phul nas/ lcang ra chos sder gdan 'dren zhus/ gnas rnying gis thog drangs sa stod kyi dgon sde rnams kyis kyang / gong bzhin bkur sti phun sum tshogs par mdzad/ lcang rar zla ba gnyis tsam bzhugs kyi bar la ting nge 'dzin dang rdzas sngags kyi mthu bsam gyis mi khyab pa la brten nas/ mi dang mi ma yin pa'i 'gal rkyen dang / 'khrug long gi rgyu mtha' dag gnye bar zhi zhing / sa skyong chen po khu dbon rnams thugs yid gcig tu 'dres pa bsgrubs pa'i mthu las/ phyogs 'di na gnas pa rnams dga' ba dang bde ba'i dpal 'byor phun sum tshogs pas tshims par mdzad pas/ shar sde srid dang bcas pa la lugs gnyis kyi sgo nas/ rje 'di nyid bka' drin shin tu che bar snang / 'di ni bla ma rnam gsum gyi gnyis pa'o/ de rjes dbus gtsang gi 'jags che ba zhig thon na sems can rnams bde bar dgongs/ yar mar gyi mi sna rnams bsags/ ri nang gi phur zhu sher mdzad pa'ng 'dug na'ng / sems can gyi las mthu btsan pa'i dbang gis 'jags la ma khel bar phyir phebs/ gza' skar mthun 'phrod bzang ba dang bstun nas/ gong du brjod zin pa'i mchod rten/ zam chen dang bcas pa'i rab gnas rgyas par mdzad/ byin rlabs kyi gzi 'od 'bar ba bzhugs pa la/ mkhas grub ngang tshul zhi bas/ nye ba'i phun tshogs bco brgyad pa'i bcu gsum par/ sdug bsngal chu las sgrol byed zam chen te/ 'di dag nye ba'i phun tshogs bcu gsum pa/ zhes bsngags pa'ng mdzad do/ zla ba drug pa la/ paṇ chen gyi phyag phyir dpyal ston chos rgyal bas gtso mdzad/* (51-2).

India or Nepal. This in turn assumes that when the passage stated that Śāriputra was on his way, having been invited by the Ta bzhin, that the Ta bzhin had gone to India or Nepal to invite Śāriputra. While Tucci certainly believed that Śāriputra arrived in Tibet in 1413, he at least would have taken into consideration the phrase he himself translated as "the Ta bzhin went to invite the lord of the Law, the paṇḍita residing in Byang."[20]

That Śāriputra was in Tibet already when the imperial delegation arrived in the Myang valley would explain a great deal, and yet still leave open the question of what prompted Śāriputra to leave Nepal, or India for that matter. First, looking at the evidence of Śāriputra's presence in Tibet at the time of the imperial delegation's arrival, we note that the Chinese sources (which will be discussed below) imply that the same delegation that was sent from the imperial court to Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa also invited Śāriputra. It seems that the Yongle emperor was taking advantage of the erudition of the western monks (both Indian and Tibetan), and inviting as many as he could to court, including Tsong kha pa in 1414. None of the Chinese sources state that the delegation went as far as Nepal or India on their mission. Rather, the evidence seems to suggest that he was called to court after having left his homeland. This is in accord with what we have seen in the lineage biography, where the Yongle emperor first hears of Śāriputra during the latter's stay in Tibet.

[20] *Ta bzhin rnams / chos rje paṇ chen byang na bzhugs pa'i spyan sngar phyag thebs par 'dug* in my MS (50), which would translate as "the Ta bzhin arrived in the presence of the Dharma lord Mahāpaṇḍita, who was residing in Byang."

In fact, as we will examine in greater detail when discussing the Wutai Shan inscription concerning Śāriputra, Hou Xian's mission brought a letter (not an invitation) to De bzhin gshegs pa from the Yongle emperor.[21] They may have been instructed to go further west to Nepal or India, but regardless, when they arrived in Dbus Gtsang for the purpose of delivering the letter to De bzhin gshegs pa, they issued the invitation to Śāriputra to return with them to the imperial court, which Śāriputra did not accept until sometime later. The inscription states only that he did not return east with them.

Next, we must consider if Śāriputra's first entry to Tibet fell after his refurbishment of the Svayambhūnātha *caitya*. As long as it was assumed that the Chinese emperor went to fetch Śāriputra from India or Nepal, there was no reason to think that his first visit was any earlier than 1413. Yet now we see that the Yongle emperor most likely had nothing to do with Śāriputra's foray into Tibet. Rather, he invited him when Śāriputra was already in Gtsang. Therefore, for greater insight into Śāriputra's timeline in Nepal and Tibet, we must return to our biographies, and the dates provided in the esoteric biography in particular.

As we recall, we find Śāriputra in 'Chings phu at the fourth day of the fourth month of the sheep year.[22] This is not very much information, but we can narrow the field to the years 1403 or 1415. With this as our base, we can construct a small chart with the other time references given in this biography.

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[21] E. Sperling, "Early Ming Policy Toward Tibet," 98.

[22] Esoteric biography, 6a6.

Day	Year	Location	Text Citation
17th day of 5th month		Tibet, secret cave	4a1-2
One week later (≥24th day of 5th month?)			4a2
One month later (≥24th day of 6th month?)			4a8
4th day of 4th month	Sheep	'Chings phu	6a6
9th-13th day of 12th month	Sheep		7a5
25th day of 4th month	Wood-male-monkey "Nyi sgrol byed"	'Phrang kha	8b3

If we assume that the final date is correct, and that these events occurred in chronological order, we can fill the lacunae in the chart as follows:

Day	Year	Location	Text Citation
17th day of 5th month [≥June 1st]	[*terminus ante quem* Water-male-horse AD 1402]	Tibet, secret cave	4a1-2
One week later (≥24th day of 5th month?) [≥June 7th]	[*terminus ante quem* Water-male-horse AD 1402]		4a2
One month later (≥24th day of 6th month?) [≥July 23rd]	[*terminus ante quem* Water-male-horse AD 1402]		4a8
4th day of 4th month [May 14th]	Water-female-sheep [AD 1403]	'Chings phu	6a6
9th-13th day of 12th month [Dec. 24th-28th]	Water-female-sheep [AD 1403]		7a5
25th day of 4th month	Wood-male-monkey	'Phrang kha	8b3

[June 4th]	"Nyi sgrol byed" [AD 1404]		

This sequence of events and possible dates depends on our assumption that the narrative follows a progressive chronological order. We might assume that there is no reason to think that this is anything other than the case, but a great deal of Tibetan historical literature follows topical order, with sequences within each topic perhaps arranged chronologically. However, the esoteric biography is only really concerned with one topic, the life of Śāriputra, and its brevity allows it to keep close to its subject. In addition, we established in the last chapter that the narrative is invested in having a chronologically sequential framework. This aids the reader in witnessing Śāriputra's progressive spiritual realization. We also established that the temporal markers become gradually more specific, which would not be a necessary trope if there were no chronological order.

In order to make this sequence accord with the notion that Śāriputra did not enter Tibet before the 1412/3 renovation of the Svayambhū *caitya*, we would be forced to disregard the entire final, very specific date, both the combination wood-male-monkey would have to be an error for fire male monkey (1416), as well as the year's name, *nyi sgrol byed*. If both were incorrect, then the last date might be 1416, in which case Śāriputra would have come to 'Chings phu by 1415 (wood-female-sheep instead of water-female-sheep) at the latest, and that this biography's first mention of Śāriputra in Tibet would have been the seventeenth day of the fifth month of the wood-male-horse year (June 7th, 1414), at the latest. However, even if we disposed of the chronological features of the esoteric biography, we still would

be unable to force it to jibe with the Myang histories, such as the *Myang chos 'byung* and the *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa.* As we have seen, Śāriputra's visionary activities in the secret cave occur between the fifth and sixth Tibetan months. In the *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa*, he is said to have resided in Myang Lcang ra for only two months of teaching activity. This commences sometime between the fourth and sixth Tibetan months.[23] It is unlikely that he was having his extraordinary visionary experiences after days filled with teaching and consecrating bridges. At the very least, one would expect some overlap between the two narratives.

Instead of forcing these two texts to conform to each other, we can make sense of them only if we allow them to speak for themselves. Nowhere in the Myang histories does it state when Śāriputra entered Tibet, or if it was his first time there. We should first allow for the likelihood that the dates given in the esoteric biography are correct, and that Śāriputra was in Tibet by 1402, and resided there until at least 1405. For all or part of this time, he resided at 'Chings phu.

Confirmation of this comes from the fifteenth century biography of the Phags mo gru pa hierarch Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1386-1434) entitled *Chos kyi rje spyan snga Bsod nams rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam par that pa Mthong ba don ldan.*[24]

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[23] 'Jigs med grags pa, *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, 51-2.

[24] This biography is contained in the collection *Dpal 'Bri gung bka' brgyud kyi chos mdzod che mo*, vol. Zhi, and was recently published with an introduction by P. Sørensen and Sonam Dolma, *Rare Texts from Tibet: Seven Sources for the Ecclesiastical History of Medieval Tibet*, (Kathmandu: Lumbini International Research Institute, 2007), 105-143. Sørensen (21) tentatively dates the text to the period 1435-1444.

According to this biography, on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of the wood-male-monkey year (1404), Bsod nams rgyal mtshan received his final ordination. In that same year, he received teachings on the practice of the deity [Vajra]vārāhī Chinnamuṇḍā (Phag mo Dbu bcad ma)[25] from "one known in India as Mahāpaṇḍita Mahāsvami."[26] It is not stated if the Mahāpaṇḍita joined the group of practitioners from whom Bsod nams rgyal mtshan was already receiving teachings, or if theirs was a private transmission. All that is said is that the Indian Mahāsvāmi arrived and gave the teaching. What concerns us is the identity of this character. Mahāpaṇḍita Mahāsvāmi is quite clearly a reference to Śāriputra, who often bears both the epithets *mahāpaṇḍita* and *mahāsvāmi* in his biographies. There is of course also the reference to India, which not many people would merit at this time. In addition, the time fits well with Śāriputra's chronology. His last vision recorded in the esoteric biography occurs at the end of the fourth month of the wood-male-monkey year. Therefore, there would be nothing prohibiting him from giving or receiving teachings almost anywhere in Tibet by the ninth to twelfth month of that year. Finally, there is the deity herself, Chinnamastā or Chinnamuṇḍā.

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[25] See a short discussion of the maṇḍala attendant to this *sādhana* (from the tradition of Mitrayogin's *Mi tra brgya rtsa*) in Tanaka Kimiaki 田中公明,「曼荼羅 グラフィクス」, (Tokyo: Yamakawa Publishing, 2007), 118.

[26] *Dus der rgya gar na paṇḍita chen po ma hā sva mi la zhes pa byon pa la/ phag mo dbu bcad ma'i khrid gsan/* (Sørensen, *Rare Texts from Tibet*, 114; folio 22a3). It is actually unclear whether this Mahāpaṇḍita was giving or receiving teachings, but as the context is Bsod nams rgyal mtshan's list of teachings received, I think it is a safe argument that the Mahāpaṇḍita was giving these teachings. A more critical point perhaps is that *rgya gar na* should be read in the sense of *rgya gar gyi*. That is, "the Indian *mahāpaṇḍita* known as Mahāsvāmi." This passage is absent in the *Deb ther sngon po* (Varanasi: 692-700; Roerich 589-94) and the *Lho rong chos 'byung* (Rta tshag tshe dbang rgyal, *Lho rong chos 'byung*, 393-402).

While the full details of this goddess are intricate and without place in this context,[27] we can say that Chinnamastā/Chinnamuṇḍā represents the beheaded form of Vajrayoginī/Vajravārāhi. Of the three or four *sādhana*s to this deity in the Tibetan Bstan 'gyur, one is by Śāriputra.[28] We also know from Śāriputra's exoteric biography that Vajrayoginī was a very important deity for him. Finally, in the biography of Virūpakṣa authored by Śāriputra, he lays great emphasis on the *sādhana* of Cinnamuṇḍā for Virūpa.[29] It would therefore by no surprise to find Śāriputra appearing at teachings on the practice of this deity in Tibet, whether as a teacher or student. Taken together, the evidence from this biography and Śāriputra's esoteric biography makes a strong case that the Indian *paṇḍita* was in Tibet at the very beginning of the fifteenth century.

This then solves the confusion inherent in inferring from the statement that Śāriputra only stayed in Myang Lcang ra for two months before going to China that

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[27] For a good discussion of this deity and her multiforms in Hindu and Buddhists contexts, see E. Benard, *Chinnamastā: The Aweful Buddhist and Hindu Tantric Goddess*; also E. English, *Vajrayoginī: Her Visualizations, Rituals and Forms,* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2002), 94-102.

[28] Śāriputra, *Rdo rje rnal 'byor ma dbu bcad ma'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba* (*Chinnamuṇḍavajrayoginīsādhana-nāma*). Benard identifies Śāriputra as a disciple of Birapa/Virūpa (14), and a text of this *sādhana* in the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur (Benard, *Chinnamastā*, 20; she cites it as being in Sde dge vol. 82, p. 14ff). I was unable to find this text in the Sde dge canon, and rather think she mistook another Bstan 'gyur for the Sde dge Bstan 'gyur. She states that Śāriputra is Virūpa's student (14), probably inferred from the colophon (*'di'i rgyud pa ni / rnal 'byor dbang phyug bhri wa pa / paṇḍi ta sha ri pu tra / lo tsha ba blo gros brtan pa bzhi pa / des yar lungs pa chos dpal bsam grub la //*). We will have occasion to link these two later, but not as direct student and teacher as Benard suggests. Rather, Śāriputra belonged to the lineage of Virūpa.

[29] In this biography, Virūpa is taught these practices by Jalandhāra, not Lakṣmīṅkarā, as in the traditions of Bu ston (*gsung 'bum*, vol. La, 20-21) and the *Sgrub thabs kun btus*. See 'Jam dbyangs brtse'i dbang po and 'Jam dbyangs blo gter dbang po, *Sgrub thabs kun btus*, vol. 4, (Dehradun: G.T.K. Lodoy, 1970), 205-206.

those two months were the sum total of Śāriputra's time in Tibet. This is surely too little time to accomplish everything he is credited with, including the teaching, the bridge consecration, the image design, the scriptural translation, dictating biographies, and himself learning enough Tibetan to translate at least one tantric *sādhana* himself. In addition, he made enough of an impression on the Rgyal rtse court to merit inclusion in the wall paintings of the Lam 'bras lha khang as well as taking the highest place in one of the two immense Thang kas displayed in Rgyal rtse annually. Indeed, he was considered to be the root guru of the Rgyal rtse royal family,[30] which would most likely not be an honor given to an itinerant *sādhu.*

However, if we accept that he had an extended stay in Tibet before going to Nepal for the renovation, and that while his second trip features a two-month stay in Lcang ra, this was not the total amount of time he resided in Tibet, his many accomplishments in Tibet are acceptable. We should not go as far as saying that his (at least) two distinct biographical lineages are linked with these two trips, featuring Jñānaśrī during his first visit and Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen during his second. As we shall see, even if his relationship with Jñānaśrī began during his first excursion to Tibet, that lineage is still important during the second.

[30] 'Jigs med grags pa, *Rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs*, 68. When the replica of the Mahābodhi image was constructed and being filled with precious relics, clippings from "root guru Paṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra's hair and nails" (*rtsa ba'i bla ma paṇḍi ta shrī sha ri pu tra'i dbu lo phyag sel*, 68) were inserted alongside the relics of luminaries such as Padmasambhava, Śantarākṣita, King Indrabodhi, the Tibetan kings Srong btsan sgam po, Khri srong lde'u btsan, and Khri gtsug lde btsan, Śākya Śrībhadra, and so forth. It is another sign of the esteem in which Śāriputra was held that his relics were placed in such an august community of holy objects.

Other than the information provided in Śāriputra's esoteric biography, we cannot describe with any certainty the nature of his first visit to Tibet. There has been enough speculation during the course of our discussions of the individual biographies. Here, we should only add that he may well have come into contact with various Tibetan hierarchs, some of whom may have been the very ones who sponsored the 1412/3 renovation of the Svayambhūcaitya. Indeed, he may have gathered money from them in an effort to renovate the *caitya*, or they may have asked him to bring their collected wealth to the Kathmandu valley to act as a representative donor. It is not clear in the *dkar chag* if these Tibetan dignitaries appeared in person or not; it states merely that it was their wealth that helped to renovate the *caitya*. If Śāriputra did enter the valley with enough money to renovate the Svayambhūcaitya, this would explain why he was singled out for special mention in the *dkar chag*, as well as why he would have been given the extremely prestigious ceremonial role of replacing the *yaṣṭi*.[31] It will be recalled that the donors named by the *dkar chag*, and located by Ehrhard were "faithful persons such as the Great Sovereign [Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1432)] from dBus, the myriarchs of [La-stod] lHo and [La-stod] Byang, and the Shar[-pa] *mkhan-po* of Khams Mi-nyag."[32]

[31] In a personal communication, Kashinath Tamot told me that it is usually the main sponsor who is given credit for the refurbishing of *caitya*s in the Kathmandu valley, even to the present day. If the Chinese inscription at Wutai Shan – which posits his dates as 1335-1426 – are to be believed, Śāriputra would have been around seventy-seven years old in 1412. Therefore it is likely that his role in replacing the *yaṣṭi* was largely ceremonial.

[32] Ehrhard, "Old and New Tibetan Sources Concerning Svayaṃbhūnāth," 112.

As Ehrhard assumed that the Ming emperor sponsored the renovation at the same time as inviting Śāriputra to China, he thought that the Shar pa mkhan po was part of the imperial delegation to invite Śāriputra to the Peking court.[33] As we have seen, this is not the case, and the relationship of these donors to Śāriputra and to the Svayambhūcaitya must be rethought. As patronage came from Dbus, Gtsang, and Khams, there is no regional commonality between the groups. Śāriputra may have roamed over Tibet to meet them, or they may all have met him while he was residing in 'Chings phu. As Śāriputra was in Tibet from at least 1402 to perhaps as late as 1412, anything is possible. Ehrhard did point out that one of the myriarchs of La stod Byang, Byang bdag, was mentioned in the annals of the fifth Dalai Bla ma Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho as having been a student of Śāriputra.[34]

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[33] Ehrhard, *idem*, n.17.

[34] Ehrhard, "Further Renovations of Svayambunath Stupa," 15-16. Cf. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, *Gangs can yul gyi sa la dpyod pa'i mtho ris kyi rgyal blon gtso bor brjod pa'i deb ther / rdzogs ldan gzhon nu dga' ston dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*, 66b2: *Rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po shā ri pu tra dang / bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal la zab rgyas kyi chos mang du gsan / khyad par dpal dus kyi 'khor lo la mkhas pa'i phul du phyin pas / mkhas pa rdo rje rgyal mtshan dang / mi nyag chos grags bzang po sogs kyis / chos rgyal 'di nyid kyi zhabs la gtugs nas / dus 'khor gyi rgyud 'grel gsan* (the learned Rdo rje rgyal mtshan and Mi nyag Chos grags bzang po and others studied the Kālacakra tantra and commentaries at the feet of this Lord of Dharma [i.e. Byang bdag] himself)." It is important to quote this larger passage to prevent the following confusion, which may have arisen from mistranslating only a portion of this passage as "[Byang bdag] was taught many vast and profound teachings by the abbot of Indian Vajrāsana, Śāriputra, and Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal, on the Kālacakra in particular."

Lo Bue (*The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, 26) has suggested that Śāriputra was an expert in the Kālacakra tradition. Lobsang Shastri has followed on this point in stating that he also taught the Kālacakra tantra to the Byang bdag. "Śāriputra visited Tibet sometime in 1418, when the Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang (b. 1395) was in power. Bdag chen was a highly acclaimed *Kālacakra* student of Śāriputra and Bo dong." See Lobsang Shastri, "Activities of Indian *Paṇḍitas* in Tibet from the 14th to the 17th Century," in *Tibet, Past and Present*, Proceedings of the Ninth

Byang, as well as the Myang valley in general, would have been on any traveler's itinerary en route from India to Tibet.[35] This is where the Chinese Ta

Seminar of the International Association of Tibetan Studies, Leiden 2000, (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 130. This is based on the above translated notice in the annals of the fifth Dalai Lama that the Byang bdag took many teachings from Śāriputra and Bo dong paṇ chen 'Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1375-1451), becoming an expert in the Kālacakra. He certainly took Kālacakra teachings from Bo dong, who was a widely accepted master of this system, and became an acclaimed expert in the Jo nang tradition of the Kālacakra in his own right. See Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, 108 n. 337. However, we cannot be sure if this quote means that he also took teachings on the Kālacakra from Śāriputra. While there is evidence that the Byang bdag became well versed in the Kālacakra, I do not see this small note by the fifth Dalai Lama as evidence that Śāriputra had any association with this tantra. Certainly, such a teaching is nowhere mentioned in any on the biographical or historical literature surrounding the Byang bdag. On the life of the Byang bdag, see especially Kun dga' grol mchog, *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam thar*, (Gansu: Gan su'u zhing chen grangs nyung mi rigs kyi gna' dpe dag sgrig gzhung las khang, 1985); Kun dga' grol mchog, *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam par thar pa rab bsngags snyan pa'i 'brug sgra*, (TBRC accession number W25587); Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams, *Bla brang nyi lde na bzhugs pa'i rigs ldan chen po'i sku gdung gi lo rgyus kyi yi ge*, (Kathmandu: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000). See also mentions of the Byang bdag in Ta dben rin po che, *G.yas rub yang pa'i gdung rabs*, available through the TBRC, accession number W25584, fol. 8bff. This work formed the basis for the later work by Dpal ldan Chos kyi bzang po, *Sde pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che bstar ba*, in *Rare Tibetan Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa*, (New Delhi: Taikhang, 1974), 183ff [= fol. 9bff]. See also the brief note in Ngag dbang skal ldan rgya mtsho, *Shel dkar chos 'byung: History of the White Crystal, Religion and Politics of Southern La stod*, Pasang Wangdu and H. Diemberger, ed. and trans., (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 31 n. 56 [= fol. 7a]. He is also mentioned as being a student of Vanaratna in the latter's biography. See 'Gos lo tsa ba, *Mkhas pa chen po dpal nags kyi rin chen gyi rnam thar*, 42a.

[35] In both the *Secret Biography* and the *Rosary of Jewels*, his first stop in Tibet is Bsam yas, not Myang or Gtsang. This is also true for the later Buddhaguptanātha, and therefore there is a strong possibility the Śāriputra entered Tibet via Bhutan to Bsam yas, a route Tucci hypothesized for Buddhaguptanātha. See Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century," 702. Śāriputra would then have traveled West to Myang and on to Nepal. After the Svayambhūnātha renovation, he then would have returned to Dbus via Gtsang.

bzhin[36] went to look for him after they arrived in Myang. The biography of Byang bdag reports that the hierarch met Śāriputra when he was twenty-two years old. This would have been around 1417/8.[37] Śāriputra taught many *sūtras* and tantras that had been translated much earlier into Tibetan, but he taught the Sanskrit version. In particular, he taught yogic practices that he had received from some followers of the Mahāsiddhas Virūpa and Goraknātha[38] themselves, including the *Immortal Magical Wheel* (*'chi med 'phrul 'khor*) and *Prāṇayāma, Being the Instructions of Gau* (*ga'u gdams pa'i rlung sbyor*).[39] He also gave instructions on Cakrasaṃvara.

All of this roughly accords with the information we gained from the esoteric and exoteric biographies, that is, the important place of Cakrasaṃvara in Śāriputra's life, as well as the role of practices leading toward immortality. In the exoteric practices, these instructions were given by the three *yogīśvaras*, one of whom has a name very close to the Gau in this narrative, Ghou len nā to. In the

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[36] Probably indicating Hou Xian. See previous note in this chapter on the term *ta bzhin.*

[37] Lobsang Shastri (*op. cit.*) has suggested that Śāriputra met the Byang bdag in 1418.

[38] It is interesting that the practices of Goraknātha raised no discussion by the Tibetan authors. Of course, he is sometimes thought of as at least having started his career as a Vajrayāna Buddhist. See G.W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs*, (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1989 [1938]), 150-1, 181.

[39] Rje kun dga' grol mchog (1507-1565), *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam thar*, (14b6-15a1 = 1985 Gansu edition, 51): *Rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po chen po/ ma hā paṇḍi ta śā rip u tra la/ legs par sbyar ba'i skad du/ sngon chad bod yul du 'gyur ba'i mdo sngags kyi sgo du ma dang / paṇḍi ta de nyid kyis/ grub chen bi ru pakṣa dang gho ṣa nā tha'i dngos kyi zhal slob 'ga' las nod pa'i 'chi med 'phrul 'khor dang ga'u gdams pa'i rlung sbyor rnams kyang / chos rgyal dkon mchog legs pa dang lhan gcig gsan....* This meeting is not recorded in the fifteenth-century *Byang pa lho bdag po'i gdung rabs* of Dpal ldan Chos kyi bzang po, which in other respects seems quite close to the *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags bzang gi rnam thar.*

lineage biography, these instructions on immortality are bestowed by Gu li na da. In addition, Śāriputra composed two biographies of Indian *siddhas* during his stay in Tibet, these are the biographies of Virūpa, Goraknātha, and Golenātha. The biography of Goraknātha, and perhaps of Virūpa as well, were told to him by Go len nā thū, clearly the same person named in the exoteric biography. In this light, I would guess that the *Instructions of Gau* refers to Śāriputra's Indian teacher Golenātha.

Despite harmonizing with the biographies, this passage from the Byang bdag's biography nevertheless raises some difficult issues. The first being that he did not meet Śāriputra until 1417/8, when the latter should have been well on his way to China, or at least Lha sa.[40] The second is that there is no mention at all of Mitrayogin, and in fact there is a slight indication that this was where he may have first encountered Jñānaśrī, who figures in his esoteric biography, for it is Jñānaśrī who translates the biographies of Virūpa and Goraknātha. On the other hand, he could very well have met Jñānaśrī and translated the biographies at any time.

It does seem that the two months he spent in Lcang ra were probably only a fraction of his time in Gtsang. He most likely spent a good deal of time in Byang, as well as in Gnas rnying, where he figures in the life of the Gnas rnying Mkhan po 'Jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan (1354-1422?) as one of his teachers.[41] We

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[40] As we will see below, according to Chinese sources, he arrived in Wutai Shan in 1417.

[41] *Skyes bu dam pa rnams kyi rnam par thar pa rin po che'i gter mdzod*, 42b. Could this be the Gnas rnying mkhan po mentioned in the lineage biography (2b9)? On the Gnas rnying lineage, see especially R. Vitali, "The History of the Lineages of Gnas rnying, Summarized as its 'Ten Greatnesses,'" 81-108.

should therefore not be incredulous of Śāriputra's lineage biography when it states that after a year in 'Chings phu, he went to Gtsang and stayed there for another year. Given that Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags invited him to Lcang ra in 1414, and Byang bdag Rnam rgyal grags bzang met him in 1417/8, he could very well have gone to 'Chims phu anytime in between these three years. However, in 1414 the Chinese emissaries arrived in Myang on their way to issue the imperial invitation to Śāriputra "who was residing in Byang." Would he not have met with the Byang bdag at this time?

It seems the more we learn about Śāriputra, the more convoluted his peregrinations become. In fact, the historical literature bears a striking resemblance to Śāriputra's biographies in that there is little or no overlap between them, and just as the biographies featuring Grags pa rin chen seem oblivious to Jñānaśrī, and vice-versa, so too to the histories featuring Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags and Byang bdag both seem to claim this Indian *paṇḍita* for themselves.

The time Śāriputra spent in Lcang ra[42] and under Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags's patronage in generally is rather hazy. Most of our evidence concerns his relationship with religious constructions, less so with scriptural transmissions. As mentioned above, we know that he consecrated the six-arcade bridge over the Myang chu river, built by Rab brtan zun bzang 'phags, but we do not know whether or not the ruler built the bridge in honor of Śāriputra's arrival. In the relevant passage from the *Myang chos 'byung*, when he was twenty-four, Rab brtan kun bzang

[42] Also sometimes Lcags ra. Cf. G. Tucci, *Gyantse and its Monasteries*, 1: 64.

'phags decided to promote religious activity in Lcang ra.[43] In this vein, he invited the Sa skya (and future Dga' ldan pa) scholar Mkhas grub dge legs dpal bzang po (1385-1438) as a religious instructor, as well as founding a yearly *grub mchod* in honor of his father's death. The following year, he built his great bridge over the Myang chu, which may very well have been part of his efforts at enlivening religious activity at Lcang ra or even Rgyal rtse itself. All that we can say with certainty is that Śāriputra consecrated the bridge during his stay in Lcang ra in 1414.[44] During his stay, he engaged in tantric activities such as "subduing" the land by planting treasure vases, as well as building centers for meditation practice.[45] He also designed the main shrine image in the central *lha khang* of the Dpal 'khor chos sde monastery according to the design of the Mahābodhi image. He also brought an image called *rgya lha thub pa* which was later inserted into this replica of the Mahābodhi image.[46]

In terms of scriptural transmissions, the *Myang chos 'byung* offers a single line. It states that when Śāriputra was staying in Lcang ra, he taught the *pu tra chos 'drug* extensively.[47] It may be safe to assume that the *pu tra chos drug* mentioned

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[43] This land was donated to the grandfather of Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags by the Toγon Temür. Cf. Tucci, *idem.*

[44] *Myang chos 'byung*, 50. It should be noted that this is the same date that, according to Chinese sources, Śāriputra arrived in the Ming capital of Peking. Cf. Zheng Lin 郑林, "圆照寺佛教简史," *Mt. Wutai Research* 五台山研究 50, 1 (1997): 20.

[45] *Myang chos 'byung*, 47.

[46] *Myang chos 'byung*, 52-3. See also Ricca and Lo Bue, *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, 23.

[47] *Myang chos 'byung*, 87: *rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta shā ri pu tra'i zhabs kyis lcang rar zla ba gnyis bzhugs shing / pu tra chos drug rgyas par 'dir gsungs so/*

here is equivalent to the *mi tra chos drug*. It is worth noting that this statement is at odds with the lineage biography, in which Mitrayogin states clearly that this cycle must be transmitted in a one-to-one basis, and not "extensively" (*rgyas par*). However, from details provided in the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, this lineage was indeed disseminated to large audiences. We will have occasion to speak of this more later.

Other later historical sources such as the *Chos 'byung mkhas ba'i dga' ston* only reference Śāriputra in his relation to Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, and the latter is usually only described insofar as he was a student of Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa. Aside from this, these two characters largely fade from historical memory. The lineage of the *Mitra khrid drug*, however, endures. Yet we cannot be sure about the extent to which Śāriputra still figures in this lineage. As stated above, the most recent commentaries to this practice are unavailable to us at this time. Those texts may very well preserve Śāriputra's legacy of bringing the *Mitra khrid drug* to Tibet. Contrariwise, the history of the 'Phags pa lha incarnations preserves the roles of Mitrayogin, Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, and Ku cor Rtogs ldan, but seems to elide Śāriputra.

Ku cor Rtogs ldan

Ku cor Rtogs ldan is remembered for being one of the close disciples, and an early biographer, of Tsong kha pa.[48] He also erected a small temple on the banks of the Skyid chu, which eventually became the convent of Btsun dgon [Mtshams khung] (where a rare image of Ku cor Rtogs ldan is housed).[49] This was the site of a *sa khung* ("earth pit/cave"), considered to have been built by Srong btsan sgam po, possibly to averts flooding of the Ra sa 'Phrul snang, but often considered to have been a recluse pit for the emperor.[50] Ku cor Rtogs ldan himself was one of the earliest *chu rags pa* or masters concerned with controlling the floodwaters of Lha sa.

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[48] Ku cor Rtogs ldan is said to have gone into retreat at Rag[s] kha cave with Tsong kha pa in 1407-09. See Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plane*, 203 n. 516. This biography is noted by A.I. Vostrikov (*Tibetan Historical Literature*, 192 n. 562) as being included in the "List of Rare Books" (*Dpe rgyun dkon pa 'ga' shig gi tho yig*, f. 3b2-4a1). Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (*Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 54) and R. Kaschewsky [*Das Leben des lamaistischen Heiligen Tsongkhapa Blo-bzaṅ-grags-pa (1357-1419)*, (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1971), 30] list it as being lost.

[49] The lineage affiliation of this temple is a matter of some dispute arising from the fact that Ku cor was the student of a number of lineage masters – Tsongkhapa, Karma pa V, De bzhin gshegs pa, and others being listed among his many gurus. See Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, *Dung dkar tshig mdzod chen mo*, 54. In the *'Bri gung chos 'byung*, Ku cor is noted as being a Bri gung bka' brgyud pa, therefore making the temple also of that order. See Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, *'Bri gung chos 'byung*, (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 395. This lineage affiliation may also have come via his teacher Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen. As Sørensen states: "Mi nyag *rtogs ldan* Grags ba rin chen is also named (alongside Lo chen Bsod nams rgya mtsho) as a student of Chos rje Bshes gnyen or Guoshi chos rje Don grub rgyal po (1369-1427), the 11th throne holder (tenure: 1395/1401-1427) of 'Bri gung mthil dgon pa ('Og min Byang chub gling)" (Sørensen, *Rulers of the Celestial Plane*, 724). Since Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen maintained a (partial) affiliation with the 'Bri gung bka' brgyud school, his student Ku cor rtogs ldan may also have been thought to be a member of the sect.

[50] Cf. Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plane*, 471 n. 116; Dkon mchog rgya mtsho, *'Bri gung chos 'byung*, 395; A. Alexander, *The Temples of Lhasa: Tibetan Buddhist Architecture from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (Chicago: Serindia Publications, 2005), 150-155; Bshes gnyen Tshul khrims, *Lha sa'i dgon tho rin chen spungs rgyan*, (Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 19-21.

He initiated some flood control rituals in 1409, the year of the first Lha sa *smon lam* festival initiated by Tsong kha pa.[51]

For our purposes, Ku cor Rtogs ldan's chief importance lies in his role of preserving the *Mitra khrid drug*. As stated before, a thorough history of this lineage is beyond the scope of the present work, yet we can state that it may very well have been lost if not for Ku cor Rtogs ldan. Not only did he write the biographies of Śāriputra and Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen as related to this lineage, but he was also the father of the first 'Phags pa lha. It is in this lineage, perhaps more than any other, that the *Mitra khrid drug* was held in esteem, promulgated, and innovated.[52]

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[51] Sørensen, *Rulers on the Celestial Plane*, 488 n. 150. The Ku cor clan was from Lho smad, and listed Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje as one of their members. Cf. *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, 3ff.

[52] Again, based on the *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, it seems that a vision of Mitrayogin was often the crowning achievement of an adept's life. I use the term "innovated" as the empowerments related to the *Mitra khrid drug* were later given in conjunction with other empowerments, such as Cakrasaṃvara and Mahāmudra in what seems like a fairly systematic manner. It is this linking of practices into a network that I regard as a new manner of thinking about the function of the *Mitra khrid drug*.

When Śāriputra leaves Central Tibet, he by and large fades from Tibetan historical memory. This is not to state that the Tibetans never mention him again. Within Tibet, they continued to write about his time there in texts we have looked at above, such as the *Myang chos 'byung.* Nor is it the case that his travels outside Tibet went unnoticed by Tibetans. The fact is that they did take note of him during his time in China, they simply didn't know who he was – or rather, they did not know who he was in relation to Tibet. There are two Tibetan authors, one classical and one modern, who took note of Śāriputra in Wutai Shan. These two brief notices (one largely dependent on the other) demonstrate that just as the two traditions that followed Śāriputra within Tibet seemed completely cut off from each other, they are just as separate from the traditions of Śāriputra in China. This may elicit the question of how separate the intra-Chinese traditions of Śāriputra are. As an answer, they seem more homogenous that the Tibetan traditions, and are largely centered around his time in Beijing. From a reading of the Chinese sources, it seems that there may have been an independent tradition of Śāriputra at Wutai Shan, but this tradition can only be detected around the edges of the historical material which comes down to us. In the Chinese sources, we hear that Śāriputra made a brief tour of Wutai Shan and wanted to return later in his life, but was prevented by the emperor's concern for his health. Given that half, if not two-thirds, of his remains ended up in reliquaries in Wutai Shan (and perhaps Taiyuan), we wonder if Śāriputra's desire to go to this holy site was not more determined

than we are led to believe. Indeed, given this site's importance for the cult of Mañjuśrī (as well as Tārā) and the history of Virūpa, we might wonder about the nature of Śāriputra's original tour. Unfortunately, these questions must largely remain unanswered. Even the construction of the monastery containing Śāriputra's *caitya*, Yuanzhao si, is a matter of debate. The donation of this temple by the emperor Xuande, recorded in one of Śāriputra's Chinese biographies does not accord with the accounts of Ming imperial patronage, or of the epigraphic accounts of the naming of the monastery, which both place the construction and naming in 1458, thirty-two years after Śāriputra's death.[53]

TIBETAN SOURCES REGARDING WUTAI SHAN

Until the biography of Śāriputra's contemporary Byams chen chos kyi rje Śākya Ye shes comes to light, the record of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje stands as one of our only sources of the presence of Śāriputra at Wutai Shan. About the Yuanzhao monastery, he states: "At the time of Ming Yongle, an Indian *siddha* named Shri Ashrak was invited; [this] is where he stayed, and he gave the emperor and his

[53] This discrepancy is discussed above (chapter 2). From at least 1458, a Tibetan Buddhist presided over this temple. Indeed, the administration of this temple shared controlled the entire Wutai Shan site with one other Tibetan-administered monastery, Congling, from at least 1448. These two monasteries were given special protection by the emperor, and the military was not allowed to approach them. Cf. N. Köhle, "Why Did the Kangxi Emperor Go to Wutai Shan? Patronage, Pilgrimage, and the Place of Tibetan Buddhism at the Early Qing Court," *Late Imperial China* 29, 1 (2008): 80-82.

retinue many tantric teachings. [His] reliquary *caitya* is in the temple here also."[54] Other than the residence there of Byams chen chos kyi rje Śākya ye shes, Rol pa'i rdo rje notes nothing else about this temple.

"Śrī Aśrag" is undoubtedly the Tibetan re-phoneticization of the Chinese phoneticization of Śāriputra (Śāriputra > Shilisha 室利沙 > Shri a shrak).[55] This is noteworthy as it demonstrates that Rol pa'i rdo rje did not have any Tibetan sources for his information. Indeed, he seems to have used little more that the epigraphic evidence on-site at Wutai Shan, as we shall see below.

The more recent *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad* by Se kri Ngag dbang bstan dar has little more to say[56], substantially restating the remarks of Rol pa'i rdo

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[54] *ming gur gyi yung lo'i dus rgya gar gyi shri a shrak zhes pa'i grub thob zhig gdan drangs te bzhugs pa'i gnas yin zhing des rgyal po 'khor bcas la gsang sngags kyi chos kyang mang du gnang / sku gdung mchod rten kyang lha khang 'di nyid na bzhugs so//* Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje, *Zhing mchog ri bo dwangs bsal gyi gnas bshad dad pa'i padmo rgyas byed ngo mtshar nyi ma'i snang ba*, (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1993), 39 [= 1831 blockprint (ed. Ngag dbang bskal bzang and Gro tshang mkhan sprul), f. 251]. It is doubtful that Śāriputra gave the emperor tantric empowerments at Wutai Shan. As we will below, after his pilgrimage to the mountain, he gave a full report to the emperor. This indicates that the emperor likely stayed behing in Beijing while Śāriputra was gone.

[55] Thus, we should perhaps not interpret the Tibetan *shri* as the rendering of the Sanskrit *śrī*, but as the equivalent of the Chinese *shi*. When *śrī* is indicated in Tibetan writing, a subscribed 'a chung is usually included. How Ch. *lisha* becomes Tib. *a shak* is unclear to me. The name is spelled *shri a shwa ka* in Dznya na shrī man, *Ri bo rtse lnga'i dkar chag rab gsal me long* (Xining: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1994), 49. Otherwise, this Qing dynasty account is identical to that of Rol pa'i rdo rje.

[56] *yon rgyal rabs kyi kri ta (至大) khri lo gnyis pa spyi lo 1309 lo dang / ming gur dang ching gur rgyal rabs du mar zam ma chad par bzhengs /* ming gur gyi yung lo'i dus rgya gar gyi shri a shrak zhes pa'i grub thob cig gdan drangs pa te bzhugs pa'i gnas yin / des rgyal po 'khor bcas la gsang sngags kyi chos mang du gnang / sku gdung mchod rten yang lha khang 'di nyid na bzhugs / *mchod rten 'di nyid rgya gar gyi lugs ltar bzhengs yod cing ri bo rtse lnga'i ches snga ba'i mchod rten gyi gras shig yin / gzhan yang /*

rje, and adding only that the *caitya* is of Indian design, is an example of an early Wutai Shan *caitya*, and houses the relics of Ācārya Kamalaśīla. A much longer passage is devoted to the residence of Byams chen Śākya ye shes.[57]

Both of these guides to Wutai Shan devote most of their attention to the sites that are connected with Tibet and Tibetans, in addition to the general importance of the area as sacred to Mañjuśrī. The cursory remarks made by both these Tibetan authors on the subject of Śāriputra very clearly demonstrates their ignorance of his time in Tibet. They may have known that there was a Śāriputra in Tibet, as he is mentioned in prominent histories such as the *Deb ther sngon po* and the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, but they never connected this Śāriputra with the one housed in the Shilisha reliquary at Wutai Shan.

CHINESE SOURCES

This is a connection we ourselves are only able to make with confidence after perusing the note on Śāriputra in one of the Yuanzhao temple inscriptions, as well as the short biography of Śāriputra contained in the Qing era *Supplemented*

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gdung rten 'di ni slob dpon ka ma la shī la'i sku gdung du ngos 'dzin pa'ang yod mod / lcang skya'i gnas yig dang rgya'i lo rgyus dag tu gsal pa [*sic*] *ltar na lo tshigs steng khyad par shin tu che'o//* Note that the middle passage (not in italics) is virtually identical to Rol pa'i rdo rje's remarks, making his statement about finding a fuller exposition in Rol pa'i rdo rje slightly disingenuous. Se kri Ngag dbang bstan dar, *Dwangs bsil ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bshad*, (Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2007), 42-3.

[57] On Byams chen chos rje Shākya Ye shes and his residence at the Ming court, see Ser byes sde bshes Ngag dbang zla grags, *Se ra dgon pa'i gnas bshad dang rje byams chen chos rje'i rnam thar kun las btus pa 'khrul bral rab gsal me long*, (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 36ff.

Record of Eminent Monks.[58] It is largely the information contained in these sources that allow us to connect the Śāriputra from the Tibetan biographies with the Shalibode and Shilisha of the Chinese accounts.

There is no overt, datable mention of Śāriputra in the two earlier, albeit brief, inscriptions dating to 1458 at the Yuanzhao temple in Wutai Shan. He is mentioned in the short Linglongbao Ta 玲珑宝塔 inscription.[59] Therefore, it is only the 1569 Chongxiu Yuanzhao si beiji 重修圓照寺碑记 inscription that gives useful information on the arrival of this eminent monk.

NOTICE IN THE 1569 CHONGXIU YUANZHAO SI BEIJI 重修圓照寺碑记 INSCRIPTION[60]

> The great emperor Taizu[61] dispatched emissaries to the Karma pa; when they arrived in Dbus Gtsang, they welcomed the State

[58] "Dashan guoshi zhuan" 大善國師傳, ed. Ming He 明河, *Buxu gaoseng zhuan* 補續高僧傳 (*Supplemented Record of Eminent Monks*), juan 25, 334b-335b, in *Xuxiu siku quanshu* 續修欽定四庫全書 vol.1283 (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1995-99), 1-358.

[59] 玲珑宝塔 光照清凉 成为宝山最圣地
实哩沙僧 自来华厦 重振圓照净伽蓝

[60] An annotated inscription in reproduced in Zhu Houzhao 朱厚照 (1537-1572), "Chongxiu Yuanzhao si beiji" 重修圓照寺碑记, in Cui Zhengsen et al., *Wutai shan beiwen xuanzhu* 五台山碑文选注, (Taiyuan: Beiyue wen yi, 1995), 17-26.

[61] The mention of the Ming emperor Taizu (Hongwu) may here be an error. Instead, Ming emperor Taizong (Yongle) would make more sense in terms of our timeline for Śāriputra's travels, as well as the internal consistency of the inscription. First, it should be made clear that the Paṇḍita referred to here cannot designate Paṇḍita Sahajaśrī, as he was invited by Toγon Temür (see introduction). The Yuan emperor also invited Karma pa IV Rol pa'i rdo rje (1340-1383) to the imperial court, which Rol pa'i rdo rje accepted, residing there from 1359-1363. At that time, the future Ming emperor Taizu met both men, and was sufficiently impressed by Rol pa'i rdo rje to invite him back to the Ming imperial court in 1368. Rol pa'i rdo rje did not

Preceptor Paṇḍita [Śāriputra] to return East [with them], but he did not come.[62] During the twelfth year of the Yongle reign [1414], he was ordered up to the Fengtian hall[63], and the emperor said: "A virtuous man who came from the West, vastly opening with the provisional approach, pervasively delivering beings from all delusion, with assistance and protection for the country, [and] tranquility and benefit for the people. He has been honored in all places, making his teaching flourish." Renzong praised [him] thus: "Paṇḍita with a stable mind, clear and quiet, protecting the imperial court, ably honoring and upholding the heavenly

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accept the invitation. See Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, 685; Karma nges don bstan rgyas, *Chos rje karma pa sku 'phreng rim khyon gyi rnam that mdor bsdus dpag bsam khri shing*, (TBRC accession number W1KG3830) fol. 95. Rol pa'i rdo rje was invited again by the Jianwen emperor (1377-1402). See H.E. Richardson, "The Karma-pa Sect: A Historical Note," 147. Thus far, it seems entirely acceptable that this inscription refers to the Hongwu emperor, especially as Rol pa'i rdo rje did not accept the invitation (which accords with the inscription's 东归不赴). Yet, to accept Taizu as the real subject, we must agree that Śāriputra was in Tibet in 1368, which is impossible as our first mention of his presence does not occur until 1403. We would also be forced to submit that Śāriputra delayed fourty-four years – and two emperors – before accepting the invitation to court, arriving in 1414 according to the inscription and other data. In addition, at the end of the inscription, the Xuanzang emperor (1425-1435) is described as saying that both his father (Renzong) and grandfather (Yongle) had praised Śāriputra. We can thus conclude that these three generation were involved inviting and maintaining Śāriputra, and not the Hongwu or Jianwen emperors. Yongle invited Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa and Śāriputra to the imperial court, neither of whom returned with the messengers. It is also entirely acceptable that Śāriputra was in Tibet in 1403/4, the time of the first invitation, or in 1413, when emissaries were sent to deliver a message from Yongle to De bzhing gshegs pa. As we saw in our examination of the Tibetan historical literature, the *Myang chos 'byung* (50) reports the Ta bzhin arrived in Myang in 1414, on their way to invite Śāriputra to court. This strongly implies that the Wutai Shan inscription is referring to the 1413 mission to De bzhin gshegs pa, which arrived in 1414.

[62] I am here punctuating this slightly differently than the usual 太祖高皇帝，遣侍臣往葛里麻斡之乌思藏国，迎板的达国师，东归不赴。 Rather, I read 太祖高皇帝，遣侍臣往葛里麻斡之乌思藏国，迎板的达国师东归，不赴。

[63] One of the three front halls which were "'public,' used for imperial audiences or proclamations" (Hok-Lam Chan, *Legends of the Building of Old Peking*, 90-91). See also the interesting description in Shih-shan Henry Tsai, *Perpetual Happiness: The Ming Emperor Yongle*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 5-6.

dharma, skilled in opening the Buddha's blessings [to all], [with] profoundly great merit and virtue." [He] conferred the title "Compassionate and intelligent protector of the state, State Preceptor," as well as giving a golden seal, 354 taels of silver, a jeweled diadem, an imperial carriage, a sedan chair, a magnificent horse, beautiful clothes for every season, containers of silver and gold, fragrant aloeswood, a jeweled bed, brocade mats, colorful screens, and other such accoutrements. Xuanzong ordered him up to the palace, to translate 諸佛壇儀 [*Zhufotanyi* "Altar ritual of all the buddhas"?[64]], promulgating it widely. In the first lunar month of that year, the teacher gave the mantle and almsbowl that had been given to him to State Preceptor Duanzhu and his monk followers. In order to memorialize him, a *stūpa* was erected in Wutai shan, and he passed away in meditative equanimity at the fifth watch, dying placidly at age ninety-two, having been a monk for seventy two years.[65]

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[64] This title is not to be found in the Taishō canon.

[65] The complete inscription is as follows:
重修圆照寺碑记
朱载至

赐进士第、通议大夫、兵部右侍郎、前都察院右副使、奉敕巡抚陕西地方谢兰畹溪奉敕书。

太祖高皇帝，遣侍臣往葛里麻斡之乌思藏国，迎板的达国师，东归不赴。永乐十二年春至，诏上奉天殿，朕叹曰："西来圣贤，大开方便，普度群迷，以翊卫于邦，以安利于民。历代有国莫不将尊，兴隆其教。"仁宗称尔板的达安心寂净，保顺于朝廷，克敬承于天道，明开利益，功德弘深。命符尔"慈慧辅国弘教国师"，及赐金印、银三百五十四两、宝冠、銮驾、棕轿、骏马、锦绣四季时服、金银各色器皿，沉香、宝床、锦褥、彩幔等仪。宣宗诏上殿，翻译《诸佛坛仪》，颁行于世。本年正月内，师将所赐衣钵付大国师短竹及僧众苗裔。俾其具奏，往五台山立塔，而禅寂至五更时，脱然而归，世寿九十二岁，僧腊七十二岁。

伏奏皇祖皇考重师道德，尝叹不舍圣谕，着内府二十四衙门等官修斋荐悼。钦差太监杨英送师舍利数颗，于五台山圆照寺立塔。遣内官监亦同山西太原府布政使司造塔复祭。于嘉靖丁未年炊燃焚之，苟延岁月。

自坚参师法王张兼管台山提督口口公、高僧天玺，同协阜平县长者孙儒、弟孙孜昆，携金币躬诣台山风林院，天大师修建。胤曰："佛殿要盖，布施赖于居士。"儒应，自愿舍金三百，造像、修殿。德胤领负募化，不过数载，殿宇圣像，焕然光新。夫震旦国山之载佛经者，惟宝山清凉胜境，文殊师利宅处也。

> It was memorialized that the imperial grandfather and imperial father [66]had emphasized the virtue of the respected teacher, and had once exclaimed that he never abandoned the worthy teachings, and [Śāriputra] had ordered the government, such as the twenty-four government offices of the imperial city, to perform the fast for the dead and lamented [for the previous emperors]. [Thus] the emperor himself sent the grand eunuch Yang Ying to escort the Teacher's relics to Wutai Shan's Yuanzhao temple where a *stūpa* was raised. [He] also dispatched the administrative commissioner of Taiyuan in Shanxi to oversee the construction of the stūpa and performance of sacrifices.

Our second major Chinese source comes from the Qing era *Supplemented Record of Eminent Monks.*

按古至有黄帝封为白云，殷汤封为五峰，成周封为雁门，秦始封为圆光，汉高封为五台，汉明封灵鹫。山各有以所见之奇雄神应而名之。永平十一年，帝感金人入梦和有西方圣人来，遣使王遵、蔡情等一十八人，至葱岭遇摩滕、竺法兰二梵僧，持金像抵洛阳，来谒清凉圣境，着役送五台，亲见文殊并万菩萨，坐清凉石，谈《华严经》。二僧涕泪，回以奏闻。帝欣然，仍赐尊者诣山建万圣清谅、大孚灵鹫二寺，并洛阳白马寺。东晋敕五顶；梁天监及魏文帝，敕修众刹；北齐文宣帝，割八州税以供僧；唐贞观间，重修如数。开元时，敕建万圣清凉寺并金阁十二院。武后亦封为清凉山。岁积坚冰，夏仍飞雪，曾无炎暑，故曰清凉。宣宗复创清凉寺。宋太宗初，寺俱瘠。五年，于山崇太平兴国寺。真宗景德四年，修王子烧身寺，额曰："寿宁寺"。仁宗嘉佑年，复创一百二十兰若；钦赐各处庄田饷僧。哲宗元佑年间，丞相张商英游礼五台，亲睹文殊骑金毛狮子、金灯、祥光、异瑞、金殿、楼阁，其中圣境不能胜欤!大金初，寺亦瘠，至世宗大定间，复兴。大元至元二十一年，重修梵刹，现云桥。大德间，创普宁、佑国二寺。至治二年，帝幸台，召诸名德论宗乘，复兴是山。

迨我圣主太祖高皇帝，龙飞淮甸，鼎定金陵。洪武三年，诏请五台华严岭金壁峰于奉天殿，赐号"寂照圆明大禅师"。朕闻师名久，特问佛法、鬼神情状，奏对称旨，抚育万邦，大兴佛教。

大明隆庆三年岁次己巳

风林院德胤重立

[66] Śāriputra died in 1426, under the reign of the Xuanzong emperor (1399-1435; r. 1425-1435). If this emperor issued the memorial, the "imperial father and grandfather" would indicate the Yongle and Renzong emperors, thus substantiating the claim that it was Yongle, not Hongwu (Taizu), who originally invited Śāriputra to the Ming court.

Dashan guoshi chuan

Śrī Śāriputra (*shili shalibodera*) was the second son of the king of Zangema, East India. [His] mother and father had wondrous dreams, and [he] was born. As a boy, he held to his true nature.[67] He was unusually keen, and had no other desire than being a monk of the *buddhadharma*. And so, he had a deep devotion and trust. At age sixteen, he asked permission to leave home (to become a monk). He made obeisance to *Guṇaratna [and] Mahāsvāmi[68] as [his] teacher(s). He shaved his head and received the complete precepts. As a disciple, [he] received the teachings. He thoroughly studied and transmitted the five sciences throughout the kingdom, to the ministers and ther masses. As a teacher, he observed the precepts strictly and minutely. His wisdom was brilliant. He was respectfully called "Pañcavidyā Paṇḍita" (*wuming ban di da* 五明板的達). The teachers footprints extended to the five regions of India. He ordained a great many monks (and nuns?). Everytime he passed an altar, *stūpa*, or temple, he would personally prostrate and demonstrate the utmost respect.[69] When he went to Diyong ta 地湧塔, he repaired the monastery. He encountered meditation temple(s) in disrepair and persuaded the local king to repair [them]. He cared for the Bodhi tree 脱菅心木. Under the tree, he recorded the names of the teachers. The people all sensed he was extraordinary. In the 甲午 year of the Yongle reign [1414], he entered China. He visited the emperor in the Fengtian palace hall. His responses [during their interview] were in full accord with the views of the emperor. He was instructed to reside at Haiyin temple.[70] In the 丁酉 year [1417], he received an order to go to Qingliang Shan (Wutai Shan). Then he returned to the capital. He was summoned to Wuying hall.[71] The

[67] This passage could also be read: As a youth, he [already] held spiritual rank (在童真位).

[68] I read this as two people instead of one person called Guṇaratna Mahāsvāmi based on the Tibetan exoteric biography.

[69] Or: [At] the *stūpa* at the site where the Buddha overcame delusion and attained enlightenment, he prostrated and demonstrated the utmost respect.

[70] According to Cui Zhengsen and Zhu Yi (33), he spent his days quietly, diligently reading Buddhist texts, and secretly perfecting himself through meditation.

[71] Completed in 1420.

emperor spoke to him with warmth and assurance, doting on him and bestowing favors generously, granting him the title "Monks registrar, explicator of the teachings (*senglu chanjiao* 僧錄闡教)." He was ordered to reside in Nengren temple.[72] In the year 甲辰 [1424], the emperor Renzong became emperor. He ordered the performance of a [funereary] sacrifice, and ordered the master [Śāriputra] to officiate. Later, the emperor made a special conferral of the title: "Perfectly enlightened...great imperial precep-tor."[73] He conferred a golden seal, jeweled diadem, and offering as per ceremonial etiquette. During the 乙巳 year [1425], Xuanzong became emperor. He ordered a sacrifice, and also ordered that the Teacher (Śāriputra) be in charge. Throughout his life, the Teacher was unconcerned with fame, did not value profit, outwardly appeared as a *śrāvaka*, inwardly cultivating the great practices (Mahāyāna/Vajrayāna?). He received special favor from the emperor, and became even more humble. He experienced all conditions, observing the precepts completely and authentically. Living in the capital, he received many thousands of disciples during his lifetime, guiding and encouraging each in accordance with their capacity – Gradually leading them to advance-ment, not withholding or pushing too hard the path of ascetic practices. He would lead people to see the precipice, and they dared not advance. When about to die, he called his student *Prajñāsrī (*burajia shili*) and others, saying: "From India, I came here to teach. Now, my contribution is finished; I am about to die. Each of you must mind the great *dharma* of the Tathāgatas. Don't be even a little lax! Thus he spoke: with dignity, though quiet. On the thirteenth day of the first lunar month of the Xuande regnal year 丙午 [February 20, 1426], his death was announced [or: he died]. The emperor lamented grievously. He ordered officials to provide for his funeral ceremonies. He was cremated. His relics (*śarīra*) were collected in Xiangshan town. A *stūpa* [was built] and they were stored there. [Part] was bequeathed to Qingliang Shan (Wutai Shan). A *stūpa* was also built at Yuanzhao temple.[74]

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[72] One of several Ming temples, including Qingshou si and Huguo si, that housed Chinese and foreign monks (*fanseng* 番僧) together. Cf. S. Naquin, *Peking: Temples and City Life*, 208 n. 133. For the term *fanseng*, see especially Hoong Teik Toh, *Tibetan Buddhism in Ming China*, 17-58.

[73] 圓覺妙應慈慧普濟輔國光範弘教灌頂大善大國師.

[74] 大善國師傳
實哩沙哩卜得囉。東印土拶葛麻國王之第二子也。 父母感奇夢而生。在童真位。聰敏不凡。而百無所欲。 唯見佛法僧。則深起敬信。年十六。請命出家。 遣禮孤捺囉納麻曷薩彌為師。薙落受具。資受學業。 習通五明。闔國臣庶。以師

As we can see, both notices are in accord with each other, and offer complementary information. Interestingly, the Wutai shan inscription suggests that Śāriputra was invited to China by the same party sent to Karma pa V De bzhin gshegs pa. As noted earlier, the emissaries sent to invite the Karma pa to the Ming court were dispatched in 1403, the Karma pa only responding in 1407. This would suggest that these emissaries then stayed in Tibet until Śāriputra's (possibly second) arrival in Tibet in 1414. This scenario is possible if we accept Zheng Lin's theory that Houxian 侯显 was sent on a general mission to Tibet, the purpose of which was to invite a number of learned Buddhist clergy to the imperial court. The Yongle emperor was driven to revive Buddhism in China by taking advantage of the "foreign monks," a term we noted above as including Indian and Tibetan monks.[75]

戒行精嚴。智慧明了。尊稱為五明板的達。師足跡周遍五天。從化得度者甚眾。凡過道場塔廟。必躬伸盡敬。至地湧塔。修敬卓錫。而禪塔以久圮。勸國王修治。脫管心木。木下紀師名號。眾咸異之。永樂甲午。入中國。謁　文皇帝於奉天殿。應對稱旨。命居海印寺。丁酉。奉　命游清涼山。還都。召見武英殿。天語溫慰。寵賚隆厚。授僧錄闡教。命居能仁寺。歲甲辰。　仁宗昭皇帝。舉薦揚大典。師掌行。特授師號圓覺妙應慈慧普濟輔國光範弘教灌頂大善大國師。賜金印寶冠供具儀仗。乙巳。　宣宗章皇帝。舉薦。亦命師掌行。師平生。不矜名。不崇利。外示聲聞。內修大行。遇　恩寵而志意愈謙。涉諸緣而戒行彌確。在京師。受度弟子數千輩。各隨器宇誘掖之。漸引次升。不立過捺。難行蹊徑。使人望崖而不敢前。將化。謂弟子不囉加實哩等曰。吾自西天行化至此。今化緣已周。行將逝矣。汝等。各當善護如來大法。毋少懈怠。言訖。儼然而寂。實宣德丙午正月十三日也。訃聞。上悼歎之。命有司具葬儀。闍維。收舍利於香山鄉。塔而藏之。遺命分藏清涼山。圓照寺亦建塔焉。

[75] Zheng Lin 郑林, "圆照寺佛教简史" (The Buddhist History of the Yuanzhao temple of Mt. Wutai), 19.

The more likely scenario, as we discussed above, concerns the 1413 mission to deliver a letter from the Yongle emperor to the Karma pa.

The Wutai shan inscription then states that in 1414, Śāriputra was ordered to see the emperor. This does not necessarily imply that Śāriputra was in China at this time, only that it was in 1414 that he received his "invitation" to the court. This may therefore be slightly at odds with the statement in the *Biography of Eminent Monks* that Śāriputra entered China in 1414. As we saw in the preceding chapter, this is highly unlikely, since we have established that he could not have entered Tibet any earlier than 1414. What is more likely is that he entered Tibet in 1414, and received his invitation to court in approximately the same year, though he did not respond for some time. He first made his tour of Tibetan holy sites, including Bsam yas and Lha sa. In this event, it is probable that he made his first stop at Wutai shan in 1417 on his way to meet the Yongle emperor in Beijing, contrary to the biography's statement that he met the emperor in Beijing, after which he went to Wutai Shan.

Unfortunately, these two notices do not offer much in the way of detailing exactly what Śāriputra did in either Beijing or Wutai Shan. The articles of Zhu Lin and Cui/Zhu[76] elaborate on these sources, though the latter article lacks detail, and does not cite other sources, therefore rendering the material that is supplied of doubtful authenticity.

[76] Cui Zhengsen 崔正森, *Wutai shan fojiaoshi* 五臺山佛教史, (Taiyuan: Xanxi renmin chubanshe, 2000), 691-696; Zhu Ying, "Shilisha shi Mingdai Wutai shan zhuming de mizong gaoseng" 室利沙是明代五臺山著名的密宗高僧 (Śrī Śariputra, famous eminent tantrayāna monk of Wutai shan during the Ming dynasty), *Wutai shan yanjiu* 1 (1997): 32-34. Note that these two articles replicate each other verbatim.

The most salient detail which must be questioned is the matter of Śāriputra's origin. Neither here nor in other sources is Śāriputra said to be from anywhere except India. Therefore, I am unclear on how subsequent commentators claim that he is from Nepal. The importance of Mañjuśrī in Nepalese Buddhism is well known, yet this bodhisattva is no less an important figure in Indian Buddhism. In particular, the latest inscriptional evidence from the Bodhgayā area suggests that Mañjuśrī and Tārā were of paramount importance there. As we have seen, these two play major roles in the biographies of Śāriputra.

The portion of Śāriputra's Chinese biography dealing with his time in India does not disagree with the Tibetan biographies. Indeed, details such as the name of his birthplace, the position of his father, and the name(s) of his teacher(s) provided in the Exoteric Biography and in the *Biographies of Eminent Monks* are in precise agreement. Unfortunately, later commentators do not elaborate on these details, instead focusing on the more general statements provided. Therefore, the end product is so general that without seeing the sources on which these accounts are based (which are not cited), it is difficult to ascertain if there is another credible account of Śāriputra's life available. Cui/Zhu state that Śāriputra was very clever and devoted to the Buddhist *dharma* from an early age, resolved to leave home to become a monk, and asked permission to do so from his father. The father was reluctant to let such an outstanding son go, but after many denials, finally thought it was the young man's destiny and gave his permission. The boy studied diligently, then began pursuing both esoteric and exoteric Buddhist teachings, as well as meditation. During this time, he mastered all the arts, both in terms of language

and literature, as well as architecture, painting, astral sciences, medicine, logic, theoretical thought, etc. This is how he gained the epithet "Paṇḍita of the five sciences." Having attained mastery over the discipline, meditation and wisdom of Buddhism, he began traveling to the five parts of India. He then spared no effort to journey to China, "the second birthplace of Buddhism (佛教的第二故乡)," where he presented himself before the emperor. All this, of course, gives us no new insight into Śāriputra's life.

Some other modern Chinese sources do add interesting details to Śāriputra's life. Their sources remain undocumented, but they are worth investigating. Of central importance is the second pilgrimage to Wutai Shan which Śāriputra desired to undertake, but was prevented from doing so by the emperor. According to Zheng Lin, Śāriputra's original pilgrimage to Wutai shan was marked by visits to the scenic areas of that site, as well as meetings with various buddhas and bodhisattvas. He praised the scenic beauty and the many traces of Mañjuśrī contained there. He also had meetings with many of the local monks and talked about the state of Buddhism in India.[77] He then returned to Beijing, making a full report to the emperor Chengzu. A few years later, soon after Śāriputra completed his translation of the *Zhufotanyi* – which became quite popular – he requested permission from the now emperor Xuanzong to revisit Wutai shan. His purpose was to clear his mind and rest in peace. Xuanzong denied his request, purportedly worried that Wutai shan was too cold and difficult a place to live, and Śāriputra was old enough that

[77] Zheng Lin states "Nepali Buddhism," but again gives no evidence suggesting that Śāriputra was from Nepal.

there was little likelihood he would be able to return to Beijing. The imperial preceptor thus ended his life in Beijing, completing the tasks assigned to him by the emperor.[78] It may then have been for this reason that Śāriputra's remains were divided and reliquaries established in both Beijing and Wutai Shan. By sending a portion of his remains to Wutai shan, the emperor thus honored Śāriputra's wish to return to this holy site that was so dear to him.

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[78] Zheng Lin 郑林, "圆照寺佛教简史" (The Buddhist History of the Yuanzhao temple of Mt. Wutai), 20.

Epilogue

Does Śāriputra Matter? Relic Veneration in Rgyal rtse and Wutai Shan

This study began by claiming it would follow or palpate Śāriputra. Given the extremely varied content of the traces he left behind, any exploration of his life would yield unstable results. They might convey a sense of who he was, but could leave no definitive statement. With a sense of Śāriputra gained from chasing him through the historical landscapes of Buddhist Asia, a great deal has been established about his *importance* for the religious history of India, Tibet, and China.

Briefly before concluding, consideration will go to the possibility that Śāriputra could be experienced; that instead of being endlessly chased, he could be caught. The final traces to be examined here are his corporeal traces, his physical remains kept in Rgyal rtse and Wutai Shan. In considering the affective power of these traces, this chapter will ask if Śāriputra *matters.* That is, it will look at the diffused, sentimental power of his material remains on the living religious community which venerate his relics. This chapter will thereby demonstrate that even as Śāriputra seems to drop out of the religious and historical record of Buddhist Asia, his presence still affects the religious tradition. Despite the fact that few people remember who Śāriputra was and why he is *important*, he still *matters.*

Obviously, object veneration has received no small attention in the field of religious studies, and much of the work done has come down to the idea of

"presence" as the thing that matters to people. Yet what this presence is remains ill-defined. Perhaps this is a strength, as a broad-definition would either assume a homogeneity within societies, or select groups within that society as privileged interpreters. In terms of Tibetan Buddhism, the danger is assuming that the understanding of an educated ecclesiastic elite represents the understanding of the society as a whole, or even the clergy as a whole.

This chapter is concerned with objects of veneration, but less with the question of authenticity than of attitude during veneration; that is, how people see the objects they venerate, or why the objects matter to them. For quite some time, as recognition of the importance of material culture has become commonplace, it has less often interacted with the idea of lived religion, with the result that material objects such as *maṇḍalas* are studied but not necessarily the ones that matter to the laity (or even the majority of the clergy). Obviously, two main concerns in this type of study are not privileging the object of veneration, nor privileging an idea of a society which venerates that object. On the other hand, a course must be navigated between thinking of the academy as the unequivocal voice of authority in these matters, and pretending that one only states what is overtly considered important by the target society.

Śāriputra made extended visits to two religious sites during the course of a journey which eventually led him from Bodhgayā to Beijing. In Tibet, he stayed in Rgyal rtse monastery, and is remembered through a number of objects (both textual and visual) created within one hundred years of his visit. He also stayed at the Puning 普宁 temple in Wutai Shan, which changed its name to Yuanzhao 圓照

temple in honor of his (relics') visit.[1] After he died in Beijing, the emperor divided his relics into (at least) two parts, and sent one part back to Yuanzhao temple, where a stūpa was created to house them. At both sites, Śāriputra has largely faded from consciousness as a historical figure, yet the veneration of the objects associated with him continue. The question becomes, then, to what degree does veneration occur without knowledge of what is venerated, and perhaps more importantly to what extent does dislodging devotional objects from historical anchors provide the means for interpretive autonomy and religious creativity?

The two sites are quite distinct as societies. Every other year for a period of about four hours, during the Tibetan festival of Saga Dawa, the Buddhists in Rgyal rtse venerate a giant appliqué thang ka which is crowned with images of Śāriputra and the founder of the Dpal 'khor chos sde monastery, Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags.[2] Historically, a fair amount of information is available on these two figures, and has been discussed at length above. Their relationship to one another is outlined in two important works: *The History of the Myang Valley* and *The History of the Princes of Gyantse.* The former is widely available in many parts of Tibet, the latter less so since it went out of print some time ago. However, the original manuscript of the latter is currently held in the library of the Rgyal rtse monastery, though few monks have seen it. The local bookshop carries neither of these books and so the relationship between Śāriputra and Rab brtan kun bzang 'phags remains a mystery

[1] The date of the name-change is unclear. It may have occurred during his initial visit, or upon the construction of his reliquary *stūpa*. This change in name was noted in Chapter Six.

[2] For the commissioning of these *thang kas*, see Lo Bue, *The Great Stupa of Gyantse*, 19-21.

to almost everyone in the area. Finally, during the actual process of veneration, worshippers are largely Rgyal rtse locals.

In contrast, the Śāriputra stūpa in Wutai Shan is available for veneration throughout the year, and is indeed the center of Yuanzhao monastery. There are over twenty gazetteers dedicated to the temples of Wutai Shan, readily available in most of the shops dotting the landscape. Further, the journal *Wutai Shan Research* is dedicated to studying the history of the area. In 1997, one issue of the journal was devoted exclusively to Yuanzhao temple, and three articles prominently featured Śāriputra. In addition, the outside of the temple has a plaque for tourists which briefly mentions Śāriputra as the reason the temple changed its name. Further still, the *stūpa* itself is called "Śāriputra *stūpa*," so not knowing whose relics are within it is rather like not knowing who is buried in Grant's tomb. Aside from the 30 or so monks in residence at the monastery, there are usually about 15-20 pilgrims living there at any one time, as well as numerous pilgrims visiting daily. Most are non-local.

Given these differences, it is surprising that the lack of textual historical anchors in Rgyal rtse and the complex machinery of historical writing in Wutai Shan seems to make no difference to the remembrance or veneration of Śāriputra. In both places, he is largely forgotten except to a few scholarly monks. To the vast majority, the objects in themselves matter, not what they represent. This is in contrast to the idea that the presence of an image is significant to people because of "narrative presence." That is, the images are indices of a larger narrative which is recalled by onlookers. While this may satisfy the issue of the *thang ka* or *stūpa*'s

importance, it does not answer the question of why these objects *matter*. Both the Rgyal rtse *thang ka* and the Wutai Shan *stūpa* are *important* for similar reasons, they recall the historic visit of Śāriputra, but evidently the *thang ka* seems to *matter* more to the Rgyal rtse locals than the *stūpa* matters to the Wutai Shan pilgrims. This distinction is emphasized in terms theorized by the cultural historian Daniel Miller and agreeing with Robert Sharf's discussion of relics:

> The material at our disposal suggests that relics were treated as presences pure and simple. That is to say, a relic does not *represent, symbolize* or *denote* a transcendent presence, numinous absence, or anything in between, any more than the person of the Buddha represented or symbolized the Buddha.[3]

While Sharf goes on to state that relics are unique in this regard as opposed to images as other objects of veneration, the Rgyal rtse *thang ka* does seem to embody a pure, unreferential presence. Indeed, it seems to agree with Donald Lopez's elaboration of "crafted emanation bodies" being the same as the normal conception of relics.[4] As will be seen in a moment, an analysis of the specific imagery seems to be quite irrelevant to the veneration. Rather, an analysis of the consumption of the venerated object seems more apt.

Further, while Miller dismisses the use of terms such as an object's "importance" for emphasizing the comparison of objects to linguistic terms, objects of veneration do have the properties of language, without necessarily carrying their referential properties, especially in the context of a unique form of religious

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[3] R. Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," in *Embodying the Dharma: Buddhist Relic Veneration in Asia*, ed. David Germano and Kevin Trainor, (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2004), 166-7.

[4] D. Lopez, *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 52.

language, that is, *mantra*. The idea of narrative presence depends on what Roman Jakobsen calls "intersemiotic translation," a translation from text to image, music, etc. To the extent that *mantra* can be translated in this way as well, it may represent a legitimate methodology for a discussion of religious imagery. This draws principally from Frits Staal's analysis of mantra.[5] One can, in fact, "read" this *thang ka*; it has meaning. There is indeed a certain "narrative presence." However, as with the *mantra*s Staal discusses, the *thang ka* only has meaning in an historical context, or with the help of an historical reconstruction. Separated from these anchors, the original meaning vanishes entirely. As Vedic verses lost historical meaning, but gained meaning when defined as mantras in a ritual context, so this *thang ka* loses meaning as a historical record, and becomes invested with ritual meaning as a whole entity. Another reason icons such as these may be interpreted in terms similar to *mantra*s is that they are, indeed, *mantra*s which have been intersemiotically translated into images. One look into the tears in the Rgyal rtse *thang ka*, reveals quite clearly that the substratum of this *thang ka* is a ritual text.

A *thang ka* as *mantra* is, in the Tibetan Buddhist context as opposed to Staal's Vedic context, far more available to the laity. In addition, it may help to explain why the *thang ka* is venerated in both its iconic and "aniconic" (i.e. wrapped) forms. Still, it is unclear why the veneration of this *thang ka* does not change when it is wrapped or unwrapped, unlike, for instance, the way the radio creates different

[5] F. Staal, "The Sound of Religion," *Numen* 33, 2 (1986): 185-224.

material presence via a textured soundscape[6] when it is turned on verses the diminished presence of the little box when it is silent. The *thang ka* does not cease to express itself when wrapped in leather.

The ritual of venerating this *thang ka* coincides with the Saga Dawa celebrations. Most of this celebration is conducted in the large courtyard of the monastery, but the *thang ka* is displayed on a large wall surrounding the monastery. The first day is characterized by a *homa* or fire offering, which attracts attention mostly for the ash of the fire, which the laity like to take home. The second day is a formal ritual dance. On the third day, the *maṇḍala* is swept up, a symbol of impermanence for some, but also a chance for the laity to take home more blessed substances. Finally, the great *thang ka* is unfurled.

There are two large *thang ka*s, which are displayed in alternate years. For the remainder of the year, they are wrapped in yak-skin bags which are themselves venerated in the manner of a "contact relic surrogate,"[7] or what is more generally called a "third-class relic" in Catholic studies. Pious laity rub their rosaries against the bags to receive blessings, and also rub butter on the bags as an offering. Contact with the bags is thought to cure a variety of ailments, such as arthritis. After the bags have been paraded up the hillside and emptied of their cargo, laity will continue to rub themselves against the bags, in addition to offering scarves to the *thang ka* itself.

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[6] D. Miller, "Why Some Things Matter," 7-8; see also J. Tacchi, "Radio Texture - Between Self and Others," in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Daniel Miller, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 25-45.
[7] Sharf, "On the Allure of Buddhist Relics," 166.

The giant *thang ka* is displayed for about five hours, from dawn until the direct rays of the sun threaten the appliqué. For most of that time, the collective monks of the Rgyal rtse monastery ritually venerate the *thang ka*, and the laity come in a stream to offer scarves and make prayers and supplications. The veneration of this icon is more earnest than at any point in the five days of rituals commemorating Saga Dawa which preceded it. The turn-out also seems larger.

In Wutai Shan, by contrast, the day-to-day veneration of the Śāriputra *stūpa* is slight. Like most *stūpa*s, it is circumambulated by pilgrims and visitors, clockwise by Tibetans, and either clockwise or counter-clockwise by Chinese. Still, most people have no idea whose relics are inside the *stūpa*, and mainly venerate the *stūpa* because of its association with Mañjuśrī, derived from the *stūpa*'s main images and Wutai Shan's general association with Mañjuśrī. Only the current abbot of the monastery, Hai Xin, and his colleague know a bit of Śāriputra's history. They say that most of this they were told by their teacher, who knew more about the Indian scholar. They worry that this information will gradually be lost.

Despite their unconcern with the historical anchors surrounding the objects associated with Śāriputra, those who venerate the objects do sometimes question each other about the objects. With respect to both objects, the answers reveal some degree of interpretive autonomy. After the ritual in Rgyal rtse, while the *thang ka* is being lowered, the monks quiz each other about the individual images constituting the icon. Lay people will occasionally ask the monks who the main figure is, and then might recite a prayer in addition to the general supplication of the *thang ka* as a whole. The discussion of the relics in the Śāriputra *stūpa* at Wutai Shan revolves

around a number of people, none of whom are Śāriputra himself. None of these answers really affect peoples attitudes toward, or interest in, the production of these objects, but rather their consumption of it.

In fact, consumption becomes an important lens through which to look upon lived religion in Tibet. During the Saga Dawa celebrations, the *homa* ritual and the *maṇḍala* rituals are of little importance to the lay population. While the monks, photographers and researchers concentrate on the *homa* and *maṇḍala*s, the laity continue to venerate icons during the consecration rites. It is only at the end of these rituals, when the ash of the *homa* fire is being disposed of, and the dust of the *maṇḍala* is being swept up that the laity becomes interested. For at that time, the icons and rituals become consumables, even as they lose their imagery and to some of the clergy they lose their potency. To the laity and some clergy, the *maṇḍala* ritual is not an enactment of impermanence, as it still retains power when it is destroyed, just as the Rgyal rtse *thang ka* retains its performative power when it is cloaked in yak-skin.

The emphasis of consumption over production is revealed in an oft-told tale. Here, a dog chases a cat around a *stūpa*. The power and innate merit of the object, consumed via the ritual act of circumambulation, though unknowingly performed, is sufficient to lead both cat and dog into a better rebirth. There are many stories like this and that of the dog's tooth which all serve to illustrate what seems to be the two salient aspects of Tibetans' practices of object-veneration: faith in Buddhism and belief in the power of the object.

The methodologies we use to interpret this veneration must be based on an analysis of consumption as well as of the object itself. The object being the particular material object. Currently, there is no more need to state that objects are important or worthy of study. It is the particular object that must be emphasized now, its particular materiality, and the particular groups that consume it. Indeed, by combining the perspectives of material culture and lived religion, we begin to understand that the same material object matters to multiple groups within the same social networks for very different reasons. These reasons are based not on mere information transfer, on linguistic or semiotic analysis, unless one can also see the reception of mantra in the same terms. There is a process of transfer, of translation, that occurs with these objects, but the image in fact constitutes the translation. The texts underlying the *thang ka* and the *stūpa* are translated into the icon. As such, we must allow that the icon can be consumed in a way different from that of the underlying text, a way that matters to people in a different way than text.

Conclusion

This study has been concerned with the interplay between embodied person, literary and historical text, and material object, and focused on how these aspects comprised Śāriputra's identity. Looking back, Chapters One and Two demonstrated the *importance* of Vajrāsana for the Buddhist world in the fifteenth century, and the critical role Śāriputra played in interpreting that importance for the Ming emperors. Chapters Three and Four underscored why Vajrāsana *mattered* during

the same time period, exemplified again in its interpretation by Śāriputra and his biographers. In Chapters Five and Six, Śāriputra is the object of literary and historical interpretation. From at least the Tibetan perspective, his identity is ineluctable bound to that of Vajrāsana.

Śāriputra also serves as a representative of a living Indian Buddhist tradition. The introduction established a place for his in a line of Indian Buddhist travelers, which by no means ended with him. He is a link between the monks and *siddha*s that preceded him, and the Buddhist *nātha*s that followed, such as Buddhaguptanātha.

Chapter Two showed that the lines of communication between Indian and her Buddhist neighbors were still open, as pilgrims continued to travel from Southeast Asia to India. The aim of these missions were often to refurbish the Mahābodhi temple, and resulted in replicas of the same temple being built. These replicas testify to the power of Vajrāsana, which was still being felt throughout Buddhist Asia. This power was bound up in the religio-historical and cosmological citations of Vajrāsana.

Chapters Three to Five treated the Tibetan biographies of Śāriputra. Whether authored by him or not, his exoteric and esoteric biographies presented the world through Śāriputra's eyes, a world centered at Vajrāsana. While Vajrāsana is the center of the Buddhist world, and the center of these biographies, the importance of this site contrasts markedly with its appearance. Before Śāriputra arrived there, the Mahābodhi temple had been razed by marauding armies, and the surrounding temples were in ruins. The biographies manipulate the idioms

common to the genres of exoteric and esoteric biographies to portray Śāriputra's particular reaction to the devastation, which eventually leads to his abandoning India to look for a "better" Vajrāsana in the North.

In this manner, the biographical and material traces Śāriputra left behind are mutually revealing of an Indian Buddhism that was all too aware of its decline. Yet even in the midst of decline, or perhaps catalyzed by decline, Buddhist adherents continued to innovate. Buddhist doctrine stated that there was only one Vajrāsana, and that the Buddhist *dharma* would fall into terminal decline a set period of years after the Buddha's passing. Yet Śāriputra's life reveals that for some Buddhist practitioners throughout Asia, there could be multiple Vajrāsanas of equal symbolic capital to the Indian Vajrāsana. Śāriputra is also portrayed as repeatedly breaking with the normative doctrines of Buddhism concerning cosmology and *vinaya* restrictions, for example.

Concomitantly, Śāriputra is portrayed in his Tibetan lineage biography and Chinese biographical notices as paradigmatic of normative Indian Buddhism. For his Tibetan biographer, this included being well-versed in both the Mahāyāna and tantric traditions, while Chinese testaments emphasized his traditional training in the *vinaya* and five sciences. This does not imply a distinction in what was important to Śāriputra's Tibetan and Chinese interlocutors, as the Chinese historical record demonstrates the importance of tantric rituals and Śāriputra's role in them.

The biographical and historical material analyzed in Chapters Five and Six thus do not attempt to display a Buddhist India through the eyes of Śāriputra, but

instead build a character whose identity is intimately connected to Buddhist India, such that they are more revealing of the authors' own ideas and ideals related to what Buddhist India was, and how it continued to influence Tibetan and Chinese Buddhists.

This study represents the beginning of a thorough analysis and re-description of late Indian Buddhism. The travelers pre- and post-dating Śāriputra, such as those mentioned in the introduction, bear further study. The analysis of Śāriputra's life of has by no means been exhausted here. His additions to the Tibetan *Bstan 'gyur* and his own biographies of three Indian *siddhas* – Virūpakṣa, Gorakṣa, and Golenātha – have only received the most cursory treatment in this dissertation. They are subjects of future research, a research that accepts the persistence of Indic Buddhism, and Buddhist institutions, into at least the fifteenth century. Buddhism did not disappear from India; it declined slowly, though not steadily. This gradual demise is recorded in the lives of the Indian travelers who left traces throughout Buddhist Asia, and it is the study of these lives that is now an urgent desideratum for historians of India and Buddhism.

Appendix

Biographies of and by Śāriputra

Editions and Translations

Introduction

This appendix consists of the three Tibetan biographies of Śāriputra discussed in Chapters Three to Five. The Tibetan biographies of Virūpakṣa, Gorakṣa, and Golenātha composed by Śāriputra and translated by Jñānaśrī are also published here, though they were not discussed at any length in the body on this dissertation.

There are three sets of notation in the footnotes of these biographies. Notes marked in Arabic numerals (1, 2, 3) are comments on the text. Notes marked in Greek letters (α, β, χ) are orthographic comments, representing corrections ("read:"), possible variant readings ("poss:"), or clarifications of contracted words. Finally, notes marked with asterisks (*, **, ***) represent the marginalia found in the manuscript itself, which is often extensive. Strikethroughs and deletions in the manuscripts have been represented as such in the editions. The biography *Rosary of Jewels* has some slight water damage. Therefore, some part of the text are illegible, and some can be reconstructed. Reconstructions are in {brackets}.

While the notes are meant to clarify the text as much as possible, to list every variant spelling and corruption would have made the apparatus unnecessarily unwieldy. Therefore, those variant spellings which were judged not

to hamper a reasonably experienced reader of Tibetan were not included. It is hoped that a more complete apparatus can be conveniently formatted in the future.

The diplomatic editions are transcribed in extended Wylie. Contractions (*skung yig*) have been preserved.

Appendix I.I

Translation

of

The Complete Ordinary Biography of Śāriputra

At the feet of the true guru, [I] bow with devotion.

In the Indian language: *Vajrāsana*[1] *upādhyāya Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi kathā.*

In the Tibetan language: *Biography of the abbot of Vajrāsana, the precious religious lord, lustrous Śāriputra.*

First, his place of birth:

The name of the country: to the east of Vajrāsana is Lcag ma.[2] The name of the city is Piribīnagara. Similar to a place called "Piribī." Whatever existed there, however long people looked at it, their gaze was never sated. Three precious jewels were within that city: the three rare [and] supreme ones [i.e. the three jewels]. Moreover, there were an inconceivable number of the parks[3] and gardens[4], temples, the

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[1] The Tibetan text has what looks like *dzu a sa ni*, which may be how the author pronounced "Vajrāsana" or "Vārāṇasī," likely the former by looking at how the Tibetan translates it (*rdo rje gdan = vajrāsana*).

[2] This may refer to Chakma or *Kaśā. See note in Chapter Three.

[3] Tib. *skyed mos tshal*; Skt. *sdyānam/upavanam/udyānavanam/kriḍavanam.*

[4] Tib. *kun dga' ra ba*; Skt. *ārāma.* I am unclear as to the distinction between these two types of garden/park. Edgerton gives a definition of a Buddhist *ārāma* as "a grove

residence[5] of the *saṃgha*, and so forth. In those [places] resided inconceivable number of representations of body, speech, and mind [of the *buddhas*]. Also, all the people of the city made offerings, such as parasols, victory banners, flowers and so forth; [2a] and they had extreme faith in the triple gem. Further, as for the enjoyments of the world -- the seven precious substances[6] and so forth: there was every kind of precious things *without exception.* There was both something for the highest rank, and something for each individual rank. There was no one who did not know joy, [or] was suffering or poor. All the men and women who resided there had variously colored clothing, in accordance with their taste, [and] there were also various ornaments of gold, silver, pearl, coral and so forth, in accordance with their taste. There were limitless quantities of food, drink and enjoyments in accordance with [each of their] taste. There were also rows of palmyra (*tāla*) trees. In these groves, there were also bathing-ponds (*palvalam*), and various flowers such as lotus. [2b] There was a stage of water (waves, *vīci; taraṅga* = a moat?), a stage of trench (i.e. a ditch), an "iron mountain" [i.e. surrounding wall] and so forth.

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used by monks." (Edgerton 1993 [1953]: 104a). This agrees with the religious characteristic given in Tibetan definitions. Cf. TTC, 16: 1) *Ku gsung thugs rten bzhugs yul gtsug lag khang*; 2) *chos khri dra mig can*; 3) *dge 'dun gyi chos ra*; 4) *shing thog gi ra ba'm skyed mos tshal.* Some Tibetans say that this is another word for bookshelves, specifically those containing scripture. So perhaps *skyed mos tshal* [= *udyānam* &c] is reserved for the pleasures of the lay. Cf. TTC, 158: *mis bzos pa'i nags tshal lam gling ga.*

[5] *gzhugs gnas = vasati.*

[6] Skt: *saptaratna.* These seven are variously listed as 1) gold, silver, vaidūrya, cat's eye or coral (*spug*), *sprug,* crystal, red pearl; 2) ruby, sapphire, *vaiḍūrya rma, mrgad,* diamond, pearl, coral. Phur bu tshe ring, *Nang rig pa'i tshig mdzod,* (Lhasa: Bod ljong mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1994), 534.

In the middle of that town was the palace of the king. The name of the king was Lcag ma kha.[7] As for his father, [he] was the second king. His name: Somanasvakāra[8]. At the time of entering the womb of the mother, whose name was Bhadradevi, in a dream of the father, [he] dreamed[9] [he] received a precious jewel in his hand. In the mother's dream, the sun, moon, planets, and stars all rose at once, and a white conch was sounded to the cardinal and intermediate directions. And [she] dreamed a large fire blazed on [her] body. [He] completed ten months in the womb and was born. At that time, as for the father's words: "In my hand, a stainless precious jewel is received, this young boy, the sign of pure breeding (*vaṃśa; jāti*), unmixed with another. From the mother's dream in which sun, moon, planets and stars rise fully: [3a] the rising sun [is] a sign of holding the teachings of buddha and protecting all sentient beings impartially. As for the rising moon, [it is] a sign of clearing the darkness of ignorance and vanquishing the non-Buddhists and so forth. As for the rising planets and stars, [it is] a sign of impartially performing the benefit of beings, and fulfilling wishes in accordance with the minds of individuals. The white conch sounding to the cardinal and intermediate directions [is] a sign of fame being proclaimed to the ten directions. As for a great fire blazing on [her] body, [it is] a sign of discriminative insight (*shes rab; prajñā*) blazing like fire.

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[7] *Kashāmukha?

[8] Somaneśvara is, of course, a popular representation of Śiva, to which this name might be related. Also a familiar Buddhist name (-kara ending – "one who has flower (soma) in his (swa) hand (kara)"). Also a possible variant of the prakrit *Somaṇasa* [= Skt. *Saumanasa*].

[9] Read: *rmis* for *smis*.

These dreams of [that] father [and] mother arose in accordance with the signs interpreted by the astrologer. [That being:] 'He will not stay in his own area overlong, and will act for the benefit of disciples and beings elsewhere.'" As a result of that of that, when he was young, [he] was named *Mahirdika* -- in Tibetan, "Other Action" *(Gzhan mdzad)*. To the mother were born only five sons; [3b] As for their names: Mahirdika, Mamghala [= Pkt Maṁgala = Skt Maṅgala], Lagana [= Pkt Lakkhaṇa = Skt Lakṣmaṇa], Dhoma [= Tib. Drolma (*sgrol ma*); Pkt. Doṇa = Skt. Droṇa?], Hari; the youngest of the two brothers were twins. Then, at the time of his reaching ten years of age, [his] mother died.

At that time, what were his thoughts at that time? "The world and everything attendant [to it] is impermanent, and I also must walk on this path, all others also are walking in this path. Therefore, retinues, servants, everything also has no essence. Many times [I] have been born in the three lower realms and it is extremely difficult to attain a human body, so [one] must not use this body as [if it were] meaningless. [One] must accomplish something meaningful." So [his] thoughts arose.

Having thought, "How can [I] accomplish something meaningful? Going for refuge in the three jewels, then taking monastic vows, this is meaningful." Having thought [that], he went before *Guṇaratna[10] and [4a] Mahāsvāmi. Having prostrated to their feet, he took ordination vows. He was again named "Śrī Śa ra'i bu tra." He was taught the stage of precepts [read *bslabs bya* for *blab bya*] which pertain to the *vinaya*, he was also given teachings on the dharma of karma – virtue [and] sin – and

[10] Or: Gulunaranā, Gūlanaranā, Khulunaranū.

also the stage of precepts of ordination, which is the teaching for individual paths.[11] As for the names of the books which he studied: *Timiru*[12], *Jñanaka*[13], *Sūla*[14], *Nimirūjña, Ma*[d]*hosatā* [or: *Mahasatta?*], *Suridhadtā, Candrakumāra, Nūradhabhidurrabhisandha-rate*[15], the ten great treatises. *Dharmapathā* [*Dharmapāda*], *Arisidharmajñāta, Namodhiri,* in the *vinaya* tradition, *L/Mudhaśikha, Mulasila* [*Mūlaśīla*], these two put together. *Yramarsña, Prajñāpāramitā, Abhidharma, Karanabhibu, Pañcarakśa.*[16] Further, the Recitation of Names [*Nāmasaṃgīti*] and so forth. [4b] [He] knew some *sūtra* [and] commentaries [*bran* = 'gran]. *Bhehakara, Kalāpa*[17], *Candrapa*[18] [*Candravyākaraṇa*] and so forth: [he] also knew some treatises on grammar.

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[11] Or: He performed 1) the stage of precepts in accordance with the *vinaya*, and 2) the stage of precepts of ordination – the doctrine of good and bad karma and the teaching for individual paths (*pratimokṣa*).

[12] Timirā?

[13] This may refer to Sarvajādeva, *'Phags pa sangs rgyas kyi rtog pa brjod pa shes ldan gyi mdo* (*Āryajñānakasūtrabuddhāvadāna*), trans. Vidyākarasiṃha and Dpal brtsegs, PEKING 1013, mdo sna tshogs, u 297b7-300b5 (vol.40, p.249); DEGE 0344, mngo sde, aM 287a1-289b2; NARTHANG ha 424a1-427a3.

[14] Or: Śūla[maṇi]?

[15] Nāradhabīdurra? [and] Śrīśandhara te?

[16] This may refer to the Ratnākaraśānti (Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba), *Pañcarakṣāvidhi* (*Bsrung ba lnga'i cho ga*), trans. Bkra shis rgyal mtshan, Muditāśrījhāna, PEKING 3947, rgyud 'grel, tu 256b1-260b2 (vol.80, p.26); DEGE 3126, rgyud, pu 225b6-228b6; NARTHANG tu 238b2-242a3; GOLDEN 1949, tu 324a6 (p.162-3-6).

[17] There are three possible texts with this name: 1) Grags 'byor (Kīrtibodhi), *Ka l'a pa'i 'grel pa nyung ngu las slob ma la phan pa zhes bya ba* (*Kalāpalaghuvṛttiśiṣyahitā-nāma*), trans. Zhi ba 'od, PEKING 5777, sgra rig pa, le 125b5-163b5 (vol.140, p.52-67); DEGE 4284, sgra mdo, le 31b5-63a3. NARTHANG le 118b4-152b1; GOLDEN 3777, le 159b1 (p.81-2-1); 2) Jo bo drag 'byor (Rudrabhūti), Ka l'a pa'i mdo'i 'grel pa slob ma la phan pa (*Śiṣyahitākalāpasūtravṛtti*), trans. Blo gros brtan pa and Byang chub rtse mo, PEKING 5884, ngo mtshar bstan bcos, no 1-295b7 (vol.148, p.139-258); DEGE 4286, sgra mdo, le 75b1-317a7; NARTHANG no 1b1-313a5; GOLDEN 3893, no 1b1 (p.1-2-1); 3) *Ka l'a pa'i mdo*

Then, in order to benefit his mother and, moreover, deliver all sentient beings from *saṃsāra*, he went to Vajrāsana, the navel (*ste ba*) of the world, and the site where all *buddhas* – who are equal to the number (*grags)* of grains of sand of the aquatic expanse of the holy river Ganges[19] – arise; [where] since ten million *stūpa*s were erected for others, placing a single brick (*sa phag*) [for a *stūpa*] there [brings] great fortune *(bsod nams)*; and because ten million temples were erected for others, building (just) one temple there [would bring] great fortune; and likewise with prostration, circumambulation, and so forth. Since whatever (*ci...kyang*) roots of virtue are made, are multiplied (*'gyur*) by ten million, then he went before his *bla ma.*

"Since I am going to Vajrāsana, [5a] please give [me] permission." From the mouth of the Bla ma: "Regarding this ordained one going to Vajrāsana, I don't dare tell you 'don't go.' [It] is the navel of the world and the place all *buddhas* come. So, going is good. On the other hand, this monastery of mine will become empty."

(*Kalāpasūtra*), trans. Blo gros brtan pa, PEKING 5775, sgra rig pa, le 91a7-110b3 (vol.140, p.38-46); DEGE 4282, sgra mdo, le 1b1-20a7; NARTHANG le 86b6-104b3; GOLDEN 3775, le 115b1 (p.59-2-1).

[18] This may refer to Candragomin, *Lung du ston pa candra pa'i mdo zhes bya ba* (*Candravyākaraṇasūtra-nāma*), trans. Jetakarṇa and Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po, PEKING 5767, sgra rig pa, le 1-36b4 (vol.140, p.1-16); DEGE 4269, sgra mdo, re 1b1-29a7; NARTHANG le 1b1-35b1; GOLDEN 3767, le 1b1 (p.1-2-1). Cf. Hubert Decleer's (unpublished) translation of Buddhagupta's biography: "Cāndra treatise on grammar" (*sgra mdo Tsa ndra*): The grammatical treatise by Candra-gomin is the one known as the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa, and its main commentary, the Cāndra-vṛtti. For modern editions, see the bibliography in Verhagen 1996: 434; and 422-423: 'The *Cāndra* and *Kā-tantra* grammars distinguish themselves from the Pāṇinian system particularly in their restriction to the main rules, avoiding going into details on obscure exceptions, and omitting altogether rules dealing with Vedic Sanskrit.' Recently the texts of this Candra school have become the object of a new projected series of (splendid) publications, 'Textual Editions from the Candra School,' the first volume of which has just been fresh off the press: cf. Dimitrov (w/ Oberlies) 2007."

[19] Or: All the buddhas are equal in number to the grains of sand in the water.

Then [he] became a bit anxious. "Although [I am] going to Vajrāsana [to do it], erecting bases of the body, speech and mind and doing actions which benefit the Buddha's teachings is important," [he] said. Then [I] did prostrations to, and circumambulated my lama, and [I] went before my father. Having offered the five kinds of presents – such as flowers, incense, &c[20] – and clothing and so forth to both father and stepmother, "Whatever [I] do transgresses the body, speech and mind of you, father and mother, and further, [it is] a pack of sins, [but] please have patience. 5b For what purpose do you give patience? Because I am going to Vajrāsana, since there will be a period of our not seeing each other, please give permission."

Then, both father [and] mother did not look at me, and their faces were sad. They wept. After a little while, father said, "Son, don't talk like that. You are like my eyes; like [my] heart. Since without you the city will be empty, don't go. Say for what purpose you are going. What is the desire? If [it is] performing actions of merit, such as generosity (*dāna*), since here too are dwelling places (*vasatiḥ/āspadam*) [for] the *saṅgha* and the basis of the three jewels and so forth. If there is some merit to perform, do whatever [you] desire here," he said. "Although without your own mother (*ma cig bu cig med na'ang*), this stepmother 6a is the equivalent of a mother. Not only that, since all [your] kinsmen, like brothers and so forth, exist, stay here!" Having spoken, all [my] relatives, such as father, mother, etc. wept and became miserably worried, [I] said "If you all are unhappy, I will stay two days." Having said that, [I] stayed a fortnight. Then, there was not even a single doubt in my mind

[20] See Chapter Three for a list of the five offerings.

(*citta*);* body, speech and mind (*manas*) resolved into one pointedness. Unseen by anyone, [I] escaped, and went straight to Vajrāsana.

After five days had passed, it happened that a messenger who was purposely sent seized [me], and then [I] said to him: "Whatever you do [to me]: kill me, bind me, load [me] on a horse, I will never go back. I am going to Vajrāsana." Thus, [his] mind was convinced (*blo thag chod*), and [he] went back. Since since I went speedily, there being no obstacles on the road, I quickly arrived at Vajrāsana.

6b **Then, focusing on the benefit of [my] dead mother and the honor of [my] father, or otherwise focusing on the benefit of all sentient beings, inside the Vajrāsana's surrounding wall, straight towards the right edge/corner [where] the Bhagavan looked with [his] face towards the East; there, where there were remains of a temple of Ratnagarbha, [I] built a new temple of Ratnagarbha. [I] completely

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* [Scribal note:] At the time of being resolved to come to Vajrāsana, in a dream, mountain peaks ran north-south, facing the eastern direction (*kha shar du*) [i.e. the craggy side of the mountain faced the east], on top of the highest mountain, on the top of a very tall tree, a wondrous (striped/piebald? *khra*) silken flag was affixed. The wind blew [it] in all directions (*phyogs tshams du*), going "flap flap flap." Then, having climbed that mountain, seizing the edge of that flag in my own two hands, I too swayed in space [like] the rolling of the flag.

In the dream, as for the mountain which was extremely high, [this should be] understood as [being] vajrāsana, the place where the victors [over] the three times comes. As for dreaming [about] climbing to there, [this should be] understood as a sign of arriving at the vajrāsana. As for the tree: the tree of the teaching. As for the silken crest (*mukuṭa*) [around the flag/tree]: the many high dharmas, 84,000, taught to sentient beings. As for seizing it: [this is] understood as holding some teachings of the Buddha. As for the wind blowing the flag to all directions: [this should be] understood as a bit [of] a foreigner (*'gron po cung zhig*) coming to the border [regions] (= a sign of [me having] a little contribution to those places).

** [Scribal note deleted]

finished the deities [i.e. statuary] and paintings within, and made a fifteenth-day consecration, the feast (*dus mchod*) of the Bhagavan and manifest Buddha (*abhisaṁbuddhaḥ/abhisaṁbu-dhyatam*) [= Saga Dawa, the fifteenth day of the fourth month]. Then, having made the five kinds of offerings at all the places where the Bhagavan stayed – Vajrāsana, Śrī Nālandā, Rājagṛham and so forth, and thereby made site-connections (*gnas kyi 'brel*). Then [he met] $_{King}$ *Ciṅgalarāja, who had become supreme among all the kings of Magadha, and who, [7a] regarding clan (*vaṁsa*), was *sūryavaṁsa*.[21] By turning the wheel of dharma for him, [Śāriputra] tamed his [mind-]stream. Then also, when king "*Ajñetasiṃha" was killed, "Ucchadevī"[22] became supreme among all the ranks of queens of the late acted as his patron for the repair [or: he acted as patron, the queen's role being undetermined] of that upper half of the Vajrāsana ghanḍola, which the Turuṣka horde had destroyed. I, having made an inspection (*zhal ta byas*), accomplished well the repair work. He was like my father: all my needs arose from his hand. Then also, all the collections of *puruṣas*, such as the ministers and military officers of Maghada, gathered there [or: to him], and [I] turned the wheel of dharma vastly.

Then, too, the king *Skyer-siṃhadeva, the abbot(s) of the Tīrthika priests, who had some respect (*mos pa cig*) for both outer (non-Buddhist) [and] inner (Buddhist) [traditions], [7b] the learned among all the Tīrthikas, [and] ones who came from Western India were there. A nine day debate was made with them. Many

[21] Supposedly, same family as Gautama Buddha (TTC 949).

[22] Compare this to the prophesy from the esoteric biography in which this sponsoress is predicted.

crowds of people gathered as witnesses of that, such as all the learned *paṇḍitas* of outer [and] inner [traditions], the king(s) and officials, and so forth. Then, the first point of contention: when a Tīrthika talks, [he] says his god is supreme. Why is that? If it is because both the sky is Viṣṇu (*bhi nu*), and the earth is Keśava[23] Viṣṇu (*khab 'jug bhi nu*), and external appearances (*phyi'i 'byu[ng] pa*) are also Viṣṇu, then by these [qualities] there is said to be the "great[ness] (*che*)" of the meaning [*Mahā*deva (*lha che*)]. To that I say, if Viṣṇu is said to be like that, if everything is Viṣṇu, then [when] walking, you walk on top of a god; moreover, everything [you] discard, like urine, etc. [is done] on top of a god. Why?

Because [I] asked this, all the witnesses, such as the paṇḍitas and the king, howled with laughter (*bzhad gar*). [8a] Then I [said], "Listen to [what] I say! All *dharmas* are not eternal (*nityam*) and enduring (*ther zur, kūṭastha*); why is that? All *dharmas* which are a collection of appearance, existence (*saṁbhavati*), *saṃsāra* [and] *nirvāṇa* are essentially one. That which has a mind (*sems*), has *dharma*. Why is that? Because all *dharmas*, which are collections of appearance and existence, are empty and are without a self (*anātmā*). As for that which is understood as 'emptiness' is *dharma*. How is that? Because earth, stones, mountains, rocks, plants, forests and so forth, everything arises from the mind."

[We] debated that kind of thing (*de la sogs pa*) day and night until the end of nine days, and having [emerged] victorious from the debate, all the witnesses, such as the *paṇḍitas*, the king and so forth, also made immaculate offerings. Becoming very happy, that king who respected both inner (Buddhism) [and] outer (non-

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[23] For *khyab 'dzug*, read *khyab 'jug* = *Keśava* (*Viṣṇu*).

Buddhism), henceforth (*de phyin 'jad*) became very devoted to Buddhism [as a result of that debate], and even now [8b] the service of the Mahābodhi [temple] exists in a great way.

Those *paṇḍitas* from that [debate] also, having changed from one view to another, became established in the teaching of Buddhism. That king now also became devoted to me. Then one who become supreme among all the preceptors (*mkhan po*) of Vajrāsana, the one known as *Buddhsasvāmi, having gone to bliss [i.e. died], all his statuary, *dharmas* [books], book shelves and so forth were in the hands of King *Vīrasiṃhadeva. So, all the kings of *Vīrasiṃhadeva and so forth, and everyone such as their ministers and sacristans (*dkor gnyer*), and moreover all the ordained also, having said, "Come forth [as] our leader, oh meaningful site of refuge (*śaraṇam*), the presence (*drung du*)," the request arose earnestly. So, [I] agreed to bear [their] urging (*nan pa theg pa*): having become abbot, [I] executed well the repairs [of] all the temples [and] surrounding wall of Vajrāsana, etc., and the repairs of all the old temples and paintings[24], etc. [9a]

Then, after a few years had passed, there being hardly any rain falling in Magadha, and all the masses of rice having dried up, all the people also became tormented. Then all the gangs of people spoke to me as follows: "Since there is no hope apart from you, ask for a great rain to fall." Having said [that], everyone such as the king petitioned earnestly. I didn't have other methods of magic (*sprul pa*), etc. There was a relic (*ring bsrel*) of the Bhagavan, and to this [I] made the five kinds of

[24] Were there temples built into the surrounding wall? What is the different between the *lha khang lcags ri* and *lha khang rnying pa*? Scribally, note the two methods of writing the vowel "i."

offering. [I said,] "Bring here the ritual offerings for it! Continuously!" Because [we] offered the five kinds of presents, such as flowers, incense, ghee lamps, parasols, victory banners and so forth, day and night for three days, then just at midnight, a pure, five-colored snake manifestly arose without a known source. Then [the snake] tried to (*rnam pa byed*) prostrated to that relic of the Bhagavan, and tried to circumambulate [it], [9b] made various offerings, and having made a manner of prostration to me as well, [it] went back. Then, a great rain fell for seven days and nights, so the land of Magadha became like a lake.

Then all the groups of people, such as the king and so forth, became exceedingly happy and the ones who met [me] prostrated [to me] directly. The ones who did not meet [me] prostrated also, from afar.

Then also, a learned Sog po (i.e. Muslim) *paṇḍita*, having made a great quantity of students and teachers who traveled everywhere (? *thams cad* [du] *dkor* [= *skor*]) and debated both outer [and] inner [traditions], arrived there. Then, regarding his point of view, [he] said, "Having built all these [things], such as your gods [statuary] and so forth, what are you going to do with them? All *dharma*s, which are a collection of appearance [and] existence, are empty. As for this body, having died, [it] will not be [re]born." Then I answered him: "When you say, [10a] 'this body having died, will not be [re]born,' there is [re]birth. How is it? Whence do all the beings (*skye 'gro*), such as those in the world [and] *saṃsāra*, come? They all arose for the purpose of an existent being (*skye ba*). Further, there is non-[re]birth. How is that? If [one] becomes a *buddha*, who perfectly knows everything, there is no

[re]birth. Further, [that] one is possessed of a wisdom body (*jñānarūpī*). Likewise, until [one] achieves [buddhahood], [one] wanders from round to round [of *saṃsāra*], and there is no *not* taking [re]birth. Again, when you say, 'everything is empty,' it is empty, [but] regarding its manner [of being] empty: how is it empty? It is neither purposeless nor it is purposeful. Neither coming nor going, [it is] naturally present. Therefore, it is free from the extremes of presence [and] non-presence. Why is it so? The drawing along of your mental concepts (*vikalpate*), [10b] you seizing [the idea] of 'mine,' and the diffusing [and] gathering[25]: by reason of their existing,[26] [it is] also not empty."

Since I said this, then, all the Sog po *paṇḍita*s looked at each other and saying "It *is* like that," believed. As for me, [I] met three great yogis (*rnal 'byor dbang phyug*): [I] requested key instructions from those three individually. Who were those three? In the presence of Ghōlenā[tha]*, in the presence of Ghaibu**, in the presence of glorious Bhirbcha/Bagksha***: the three[27]. Having met with *siddhas* (*grub thob*) like

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[25] Read: *'phrod 'du* (*samavāyaḥ*)?

[26] Or: by reason of carrying concepts, clinging to "mine," expansion, contraction [and] existence, [it] is also not empty.

* [I] requested that which was free from the two extremes: the oral instructions (*man ngag; upadeśa/avavāda*) [and?] view (*lta ba; dṛṣṭi*) of the wind (*prāṇa*) for attaining immortality (*'chi med grub*).

** [He] held instructions which were the essence of *rtsa rlung 'chi med* (*nāḍi prāṇa*) like the power of fast moving wind (*rlung*). [I] requested the instructions of the key points, perceiving (*rtogs pa*) things as bliss-emptiness.

***[I] requested the instructions of perceiving things like the sky: empty, lucid, aimless (*nopalabhyate, anupalabhyaḥ*), having transformed *prāṇa* and gnosis, which is attaining the immortality of [vajra?]yoginī. [I] requested the key points and the bliss which is the complete condensation of the key points and bliss. ~~I was in Vajrāsana. Then [I] circled all the sites (*gnas, pīṭha/deśa*) and caves where the~~

them, *de sting*(? = at that time?) I was in Vajrāsana. Thence I also circled all the caves and sites where the Tathāgata resided (*bzhugs*), such as Gṛdhrakūṭa[parvata]. At that time (*De sting* ?), in my ruminations, the thought arose, "At any cost (*ci kyang*) I must go to Western India." And in a dream one night, what happened? Everyone (*thams cad*) offered many flowers to me. [11a] Then I, having gone into a temple, prostrated to and circumambulated the image(s) (*sku zugs*) of the Bhagavan; [I] scattered flowers with cupped hands (*me tog snyim pa, kusumāñjali*). Having gone before the images on the storey above, [I] did likewise. [I] circumambulated the bodhi tree on its highest story (*yang thog*). There, an extremely beautiful white[-clad] boy was with me. We circumambulated together. I also looked to the North, and in the Northern direction was an extraordinary (*khyad du 'phags pa*) temple, [with] an exterior that was white like a conch. There were various paintings within. Beyond it were various forests and fruit, grains, etc. [It] was designed exceedingly well. Then I asked that white[-clad] boy, "What's up there?" The boy said (*gsungs*): "Up there is one of the two existing Vajrāsanas." [11b] Since I asked, "there are two

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~~*tathāgata(s) gathered (bsdus), such as Gṛdhrakūṭa[parvata*~~]. (...xxx...illegible).[x]
[x](overleaf):"... doing [that (circling? *kyin* referring to previous illegible verb sequence)], and then a *puruṣa* (*skyes bu*) who was selling/pressing (?*mtshong pa?*) flowers arose, ~~and offered many flowers to me~~.

[27] The first of these probably refers to Golenātha, of whom Śāriputra composed a short biography. The last may refer to Virūpakṣa, or someone in the Pakṣa-panthi, sometimes stated to be the Buddhist sect of the Nātha yogis. Cf. Appendix one in Decleer's translation of Buddhagupta's biography: "the Bakṣa-panthi. Their name is identical with the Bakṣi/Pakṣi of Central Asia which, all according to the context, may refer to Buddhist Masters, as in the name of the Second Karmapa, Karma Pakṣi, or to members of various darvish orders of Muslim persuasion; in the latter sense, it survives in the name of Sufi saints such as Datta Ganj Baksh (with his mausoleum in Lahore) and in the designation of figures depicted on the paintings ascribed to the enigmatic Mehmet 'Black Pen' (Kala Kalam) in Istanbul's Topkapi Museum."

Vajrāsanas?" [He] said (*zer*): "there are two."[28] I [said]: "From what I have heard (*thos pa la*), there is one alone (*gcig las med*); but there are two?" That white[-clad] boy said (*gsungs*): "Among the two which are not different (*khyad med pa*), the one up there is particularly extraordinary (*khyad par du 'phags*)." Then, since I asked, "If [I] went to look [at it], [would I] see [it]?" [He said], "If you go by yourself, [you will] see [it]." Then, fine. [I] went to look: I went outside and faced Northwards. I went down one path, and of the two paths there, there was one going Westwards and one going Northwards. Then, [I] went down the path going to the West, and all the paths were blocked by brambles, and there was no escape from the swamp. Then, that white[-clad] boy having arrived, he said: "Since that is not your path, it is this path, which goes Northwards." And he showed the path. Then, I went Northwards,

12a and there also (*na yang*) sat various fruit and flowers, and [I] both ate the fruit and picked the flowers. Then, [I] arrived at a great city, and all its men and women also were planting. Everyone also wore red clothing. I saw one guru from its path. From the speech of that one: "Where are you going? Come here!" He said, and signaled (*bda' mdzad*) [me] with his hand. I went and as for that guru, he was certainly the one called "*Buddhavaṃsa-thera" a *bhikṣu* with completely perfect practice (*snyen pa*) who lived in my own country. That guru said (*gsungs*), "Do you know the *dharma* of Maitreya?" I said (*smras*), "[I] know a lot."[+] Then, there was a

[28] Or: "Since the writings state 'there are two vajrāsanas,' there are two." I said [further], "With respect to hearing, there is only one..."

[+] Then much commentary [and advice?] arose. He said (*zer*): "At the beginning (*dang por*), the *kalpa* of Maitreya comes into being (*chags*), in the middle [it] endures (*gnas*), at the end it perishes (*'jig*). The measure of a physical life and the *dharma*'s endurance (*chos gnas*) and so forth, everything declines. In this good *kalpa*, four

great deal of discussions. We complemented each other about it. "We two are as one," [he] said (*zer*).

Then, [I] came [further] Northwards, and there was a temple which sat atop the east face of a mountain that was there. [12b] Inside of it, to the right of a seated Bhagavan [image], a snake rose up and was bowing [its] head in the direction of the ear (*snyan gyi thad*). Everyone went to prostrate to it, but everyone turned back from fear of that snake. Then I arrived at that temple; inside the door, [I] looked up and went [toward the image]. Then that snake said (*zer*), "You, come here!" Its head swaying. Then I, having prostrated to that image of the Bhagavan, said to myself: "[I] need to make an offering to yonder *nāga*; the *nāga* is not something you see all the time. Everyone says [that] if you see a *nāga*, you must make offerings.[29]" Without anything else to offer to it, [I] laid aside (*phud*) the hat from [my] head, and having folded (*stebs*) [the hat], placed [it] in front of that [*nāga*], as an offering made. Then, the snake thrice said "*thu thu*" [i.e. expectorated] on that hat. "You without sickness and...

[MANUSCRIPT BREAKS]

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buddhas went, including (*yan la*?) Śākyamuṇi. When Maitreya comes, he will be the fifth. As for the lifespan of Maitreya's time, [one will] attain eighty thousand years. Everyone at that time will also be blissful [and] joyous."

[29] This passage is particularly difficult to translate as there are no particles to indicate the agent of the verb *mthong*, which in any case is defined as both transitive and intransitive, depending on the dictionary consulted. Further, the previous cases of this verb also lack agent or patient. So it could be rendered: "again and again, the *nāga* is not seen, if everyone also saw the *nāga*, [they] would need to make offerings." Or yet again, if the *nāga* saw the people, it/they would have to make offerings.

APPENDIX I.II

DIPLOMATIC EDITION

OF

THE COMPLETE ORDINARY BIOGRAPHY OF ŚĀRIPUTRA

[1a]

sha ri pu tra'i rnaM thar thun mong ba tsha tshang ba

[1b1]_@//__bla ma daM pa'i zhabs la gus pas phyag 'tshal lo//__rgya gar skad du:__'dzu a sa ni u pa rgya shri sha ra'i bu tra ma ha sa mi'i ka tha:_[1b2]_bod skad du:__rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po:__dpal sha ra'i pu chos kyi rje rin po che'i rnams[α′] thar:__dang po khong gi 'khrungs yul ni:__rdo rje gdan gyi [1b3]_shar phyogs:__yul gyi min[β′] ni lcag ma'o[1]:__grongs khyer[γ′] gyi ming ni:__pi ri bī ra na kha' ra'o:__pi ri

1. Could this be Khagaria district, east of Gayā, and near Parbatta? It could be Phiribhit, a main city en route to Kailash, on the border of Nepal. Note that the Chinese biography gives his kingdom's name as Yintu Zangema 印土拶葛麻 ("Indian Zangema"). This is likely a Chinese transcription the Indian word transcribed in Tibetan as *lcag ma*.

α′. Read: *rnam*.

β′. Read: *ming*.

γ′. Read: *grong khyer*.

bī la ces pa:__ci 'dra 1 yod na:_[1b4]_ltas kyin[α′] kyin lta bas mi ngoms pa 1 yod do:__grongs khyer[β′] da'i nang na rin po che 3 yod de:__dkon cog suM mo:__gzhan yang [1b5]_skyed mos tshal dang:__kun dga' ra ba dang:__gtsug lag khang dang:__dge 'dun gyi bzhugs gnas la swogs pa ni bsaM gyi[γ′] mi [1b6]_khyab pa yod do:__de rnaM na sku gsungs thugs kyi rten la sogs pa bsaM gyi[δ′] mi khyab pa bzhugs so:__grong khyer da'i mi thams cad kyang:__gdugs dang

[2a1]@//__rgyal mtshan dang:__me tog la sogs pa'i mchod pa byed cing:__dkon cog la shin tu nas kyang dad pa yod do:_gzhan_[2a2]_yang 'jig rten gyis longs spyod ni:__rin po che sna bdun la sogs te:__rin po che'i rigs thams cad ma tshangs pa med:__rigs mchog tu [2a3]_gyur pa yang yod la:__rang rang gi rigs 'dzin pa yang yod do:__de na bde skyid dang ldan pa ma rtog pa:__stug[ε′] cing 'phongs pa ni [2a4]_1 kyang med do:__der gnas pa'i skyes pa dang:__bu med thams cad kyang:__gos kyi kha dog snogs pa rang rang gi yid dang mthun pa dang:__yid dang [2a5]_mthun pa'i gser dngul mu tig byi ru la sogs pa'i rgyan snogs kyang yod do:__rang rang gi yid dang mthun pa'i bza' btung longs spyod dpag [2a6]_tu med pa yod do:__shing ta le'i 'phreng pa yang yod do:__de dag gi 'tshal na khrus kyi rdzong

α′. Read: *kying*?

β′. Read: *grong khyer.*

γ′. Read: *gyis.*

δ′. Read: *gyis.*

ε′. Poss: *sdug.*

bu dang:__pad ma la sogs pa'i me tog snogs kyi [2b1]_tshal yang yod do:__chu'i rim pa dang:__'ob kyi rim pa dang:__lcags ri la sogs pa rim shin yod do:__grong khyer[α′] da'i dbus na [2b1]_rgyal po'i pho brang yod do:__rgyal po'i mtshan ni lcag ma kha zer:__khong rang gi yab ni rgyal po 2 pa'o:__mtshan ni so ma na swa ka ra'o[2]:_[2b3]_yuM gyis mtshan ni[*] yuM gyi ltum na zhugs pa'i dus su:__yab kyi mtshan lam du:__nor bu rin po che 1 phyag du blang pa smis:__yum gyi mtshan [2b4]_laM du/__nyi zla gza' skar thams cad dus 1 la shar ba dang:__dung dkar po phyogs mtshams su bus pa dang:__lus la me chen po 'bar ba rmis [2b5]_so:__lhum du zla ba bcu rdzogs pa dang sku 'khrungs so:__de'i dus su:__yab myi sya[β′] ni:__nga'i lag du nor bu rin po che dri ma med pa cig [2b6]_blangs pa rmi bde[γ′] khye'u 'di ni rigs gtsang ma gzhan dang ma 'dres pa'i rtags[δ′]:__yuM gyi nyi zla gza' skar thams cad yongs su rdzogs pa shar ba rmis pa las

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2. Also familiar Buddhist name (°*kara* ending). ("one who has flower (soma) in his (swa) hand (kara)). Śāriputra's original name has this same °*kara* ending.

α′. It is evident that this was originally "*grongs khyer*", but corrected to "*grong khyer.*"

β′. Read: *gsungs.*

γ′. *rmi bde* interpolated, poss: *rgi ber.*

δ′. Read: *rtag*, and following.

*. *skyais* [read: *skyes po*] *bha dra dhe wi ceso.* Vajradevi is a goddess venerated and practiced by Buddhists.

[3a1]_@//__nyi ma shar ba de:__sangs rgyas kyi btan[α′] pa 'dzin cing:__sems can thams cad nye ring med par skyongs pa'i rtags:__zla ba shar ba ni ma rig [3a2]_pa'i mun pa sel cing:__mu stegs pa la swogs pa rnom[β′] ba nga [??] pa rnoMs 'joms pa'i rtags:__gza' skar shar ba de ni 'gro don phyogs med du mdzad [3a3]_cing:__rang rang gi mos pa dang mthun pa'i re ba bskong[γ′] pa'i rtags:__dung dkar po phyogs 'tshams pa su bud pa de:__snyan grag phyogs [3a4]_bcur sgrogs pa'i rtags:__lus la me chen po 'bar ba de ni:__shreb[δ′] me ltar du 'bar ba'i rtags:__yab yuM gyi mtshan laM dang mtshan [3a5]_mkhan gyi mtshan rtag mthun par byung ngo:__rang yul du lhag par mi bzhugs cing:__gdul bya dang 'gro don bzhan[ε′] du byed par [3a6]_'gyur sya[ς′]:__de'i don gyi[3] kyang:__gzhon nu pa'i dus kyi mtshan yang ma hir rdi kar brtags:__bde du gzhan mdzad ces so:__yuM sras lnga [3b1]_tsam 'khrungs ~~na yang~~[ζ′] te du rnams kyi mtshan ni:__ma hir dhi ka:__maM gha la:__la kha na:__do[η′] ma:__ha ri ste sku mched lnga yod pa'i chung pa 2 tshe ma 'od [3b2]_der long gi lo bcu gnyis tsam lon

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3. Read: *gyis.*

α′. Read: *bstan.*

β′. Poss: *rgom.*

γ′. Read: *bskang* = "will fulfill." Note that changing the verb *skong* to the (incorrect) future form *bskong* would be a typical mistake, as verbs with superscripts most typically just add a *b°* prefix to for the future.

δ′. Read: *shes rab.*

ε′. Read: *gzhan.*

ς′. Read: *gsungs.*

ζ′. *na yang* crossed out for *te*.

η′. Possibly converted to *dro ma* by interpolator, or "*ha*" subscribed to root "*da*."

pa'i dus su:__yuM grongs so:__de'i dus su khong gi thugs dgongs la ji ltar byung na:__'jig rten [3b3]_'khor ba pa thams cad mi rtag par 'dug pa dang:__nga yang laM 'di la 'gro dgos:__gzhan caMd[α′] kyang laM 'di la 'gro bar 'dug pa:__des [3b4]_na 'khor g.yog thams cad la yang snying po mi 'dug :__ngan song 3 du skye ba shin du ma shing:__mi lus thob pa 'di shin du nas kyang dka' [3b5]_bar 'dug a:__lus 'di ni don med la ma btang dgos so:__don can 1 bsgrub dgos dgongs pa 1 byung ngo:__don can ci ltar [3b6]_bsgrub na:__dkon mchog 3 la skyobs su song ba dang:__rab tu byung ba 'di ka don can du 'dug dgongs nas:__gyu XX na ra nU[4] dang:__ma

[4a1]_@//__ha sa mi[5]'i drung du byon te:__zhabs la phyag byas nas:__rab tu byung pa mdzad do:__mtshan yang shri sha ra'i bu tra ces [4a2]_btags so:__'dul ba dang mthun pa'i blab[β′] bya'i rim pa dang:__las dge sdig gi chos dang:__laM so sor brtan pa'i rab tu [4a3]_byung pa'i bslabs bya'i rim pa yang gnang ngo:__slob gnyer mdzad pa'i po ti'i ming ni:__ti mi rA:__dza na ka:__shU ma:__ni mi:_[4a4]_rU dza:__ma dho sha tU:__shu ri dhad tU:__rtsan tra ku ma ra:__nU ra dha bhi dur ra bhi shan dha ra te:__brtan bcos chen po bcu'o:__dhar [4a5]_mU pa thU:__a rings dhar ma dzu

4. Poss: *nā*.

5. Names in the Chinese account are: Gunarana [and] Mahesami 孤捺囉納麻曷薩彌.

α′. = *thams cad*.

β′. Read: *bslabs*.

ta:__na mo dhi ri:__'dul ba'i lugs la:__lu[α′] dha shi kha:__mu la shi ma[β′]:__'di 2 'dus pa'o:_[4a6]_spra mar thU:__prad nya pa ra mi ta:__a bhi dhar rma:__ka ra na bhi bu:__pan rtsa ra rak+Sha:__gzhan yang mtshan brjod la sogs te:_[4b1]_mdo shan[γ′] yang 'ga' zhig nkhyen no:__bha ha ka ra:__ka la pa:__tsan tra pa la sogs ste:__sgra'i[δ′] bstan bcos kyang 'ga' [4b2]_zhig khyen no:__de nas khong rang gi ma'i don dang:__gzhan yang sems can thams cad 'khor ba las bsgral ba'i phyir:__rdo rje gdan [4b3]_ni 'dzam bu gling gi rte ba yin cing:__sangs rgyas gang ga'i klong chu'i bye ma'i grangs dang mnyaM pa'i:__sangs rgyas thams cad 'byung pa'i sa:_[4b4]_gzhan du mchod rten bye ba bzhengs pa bas:__der sa phag 1 bzhag pa bsod naMs che zhing:__gzhan du lha khang bye ba [4b5]_bzhengs pa bas:__der lha khang 1 bzhengs pa bsod naMs che zhing:__de bzhin du phyag dang skor ba la sogs te:__dge ba'i [4b6]_rtsa ba ci byas kyang bye ba'i 'gyur du 'gro bas:__de nas rang gi bla ma'i drung du byon te:__nga rdo rje gdan du 'gro bas:__bka'

[5a1]_@//__gnang par zhu zhus pas:__ bla ma'i zhal ltas _khyod la rab tu byung pa rdo rje gdan du 'gro ba la:__ma 'gro zer ba ni mi spobs:__'dzam [5a2]_bu gling gi lte ba yin cing:__sangs rgyas thams cad 'byon pa'i sa yin pas:__'gro ba ni legs:__yin 'ang nga'i dgon pa 'di stong par_[5a3]_'gro bar 'dug gsungs nas:__cung zad thugs gral du gyur

α′. Poss: *mu.*

β′. Poss: *la.*

γ′. Read: *gshan*? [poss: *bran*].

δ′. Poss: *sbra'i.*

te:__rdo rje gdan du 'gro na yang:__sku gsung thugs kyi rten bzhengs pa dang:__sangs rgyas [5a4]_kyi stan pa la phan pa'i bya ba byed pa gal che gsungs:__der nga'i[α′] bla ma la phyag dang skor ba byas ste:__bdag gi yab kyi drung du phyin te [5a5]_yab dang ma yar gnyis la:__me tog bdug spos la sogs mchod pa rnaM pa lnga dang:__nam bza' swogs phul nas:__khyed yab [5a6]_yuM gyi sku gsungs thugs dang 'gal ba dang:__gzhan yang nyes 'tung gi tshogs:__ci bgyis pa[β′] thams cad bzod pa mdzad par zhu lags:__don [5b1]_ci'i phyir bzod pa 'bul na:__bdag rdo rje gdan du 'gro bas:__ma 'jal [γ′]ba'i dpe[δ′] yod pas:__bka' gnad[ε′] par zhu zhus [5b2]_pas:__yab yuM 2 zhal lta mi gnang par:__zhal ngo gnag ste:__spyan chab gsil[ς′] zhing 'dug go:__yug cig song [5b3]_pa dang yab kyi gsung nas:__bu $_{de}$ skad ma zer cig:__khyod ni nga'i mig dang 'dra'o:__snying dang 'dra'o:__khyod med na grongs [5b4]_khyer 'di stong par 'gro bar 'dug pas:__'gro bar mi tigs so:__khyod don ci'i phyir 'gro gsungs:__ci 'dod pa yin:__sbyin [5b5]_pa la sogs dge ba'i las byed na ni:__'di na yang dkon mchog 3 gyi rten dang dge 'dun la swogs 'zhugs gnas yod

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α′. the use of the first person familiar "nga" would indicate this is a first person account, whereas the later honorific "bdag" would indicate a reported account. However, this is clearly not a finished, revised, edited text, so perhaps Śāriputra is writing himself, and sometimes remembers to use "bdag" sometimes forgetting and using "nga"?

β′. Read: *byas pa.*

γ′. Read: *mjal* "not meeting"?

δ′. Poss: *des, dse, dem, dme.*

ε′. Read: *gnang.*

ς′. Read: *gsal* with errant "*i*"?

pas:__dge [5b6]_ba ji byed na 'ang:__gang 'dod 'di gar bgyis cig gsungs:__khyod kyi ma cig bu cig med na 'ang:__ma yar 'di ma'i

[6a1]_@//__dod yin mod:__spun zla la swogs gnyen mtshan[α′] thams cad yod pas:__'di gar sdod 1 sungs nas:__yab yuM la swogs [6a2]_gnyen tshan thams cad ngu zhing nyaMs thag pa'i thugs khral du gyur 'dug pas:__khyed rnaMs mi dga' na:__ngas zhag gnyis sdod gsungs nas:__zla ba [6a3]_phyed bzhugs so:__de nas nga'i sems la the tsom ni cig kyang med de {ka[*]} lus ngag yid 3 rtse 1 tu thag chod nangs:__sus kyang ma [6a4]_tshor bar bros te:__rdo rje gdan la gtad rnas byon no:__zhag lnga song pa'i dus su:__phyir gtang pa'i bang chen pas zins[β′] byung pa dang:_[6a5]_der kho la khyod rang:__nga bsod daM:__khyig gaM:__rta la 'gel laM ci

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α′. Read: *tshan*. See *gnyen tshan*, next line.

β′. Read: *zin nas*?

*. {kha}:_rdo rje bdan du yong par thag chod yod pa'i dus su:__rmi lam du ri sna lho byang du rgyugs pa:__kha shar du bstan pa:__rtse mo mtho' ba'i ri'i steng na shing shin du ring pa 1 gi rtse na__{nga}:_na dur khra_[read: dar khra = dar lcog?] ngo mtshar can 1 btags 'dug pa rlung gis phyogs mtshams su skyod nas lhab lhab lhab 'dug go//__der ri de la 'dzegs nas dar khra de'i sna la rang nyid kyi lag pa 2 'jus pas:__rang yang bar snang la ling ling por dar kyi bskyod de 'dug [or: ~~klag~~] pa snams_[read: rnams] rmi lam ba na la yang shin du mtho ba'i ri ni dus gsum rgyal ba mus par_[read: ma lus par?] 'byon pa'i sa star rdo'i [= rdo rje'i] bdan [= gdan] du go:__de la 'dzes [read: 'dzegs?] pa rmi ba ni:__rdo rje bdan du slob par go:__shing ni bstan pa'i shing tu go:__cod yan dar [= cod pan dar (dpyang)?] snogs [= sna tshogs] su 'dug pa ni chos sna_[= sna tshogs?; or: sno, sgo] mo bsgyad_[or: brgyad] khri bzhi stong sems can rnams la ston par go:__de la 'jus pa ni:__sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa cung zhig 'dzin par go dar rlung gi [= gis] phyogs mtshams su skyod pa ni yang_[deleted?] phyogs mtshams su 'gron po cung zhig yong par go nas:__sha

byed nang:__nga ni cig kyang phyir mi 'dog[α′]:__rdo rje gdan du [6a6]_'gro gsungs pas:__khong rang blo thag chod nas leg song ngo:__ngas kyang 'byog[β′] par yongs pas laM du bar med par myur du rdo rje gdan [6b1]_du slob[γ′] bo:_{kha}_de $_{nas}$ nga rang gi yuM grongs pa'i don dang:__yab kyi rim 'gro[δ′] la dmigs pa'M:__gzhan yang sems can thams cad kyi don la dmigs [6b2]_nas:__rdo rje gdan gyi lcag ri'i nang:__bcom ldan 'das shar phyogs la zhal gzigs pa'i g.yas zur kyi thad ka na:__rin chen [6b3]_snying po[6]'i:__lha khang gi shul cig 'dug 'dug pa der rin chen snying po'i lha khang gsar pa 1 bzhengs so:__nang gi lha dang ri mo [6b4]_la swogs yongs su

6. Vaiśravaṇa/Kubera. As V/K, may accord with Rig pa'i ral gri's record of a shrine to the guardian of the northern gate, which he describes as the "dharma protector of the island of Siṅgala (*sing ga gling pa'i chos skyong mgon*)" [17a]. This would accord with his status as the elder brother of Ravana, the lord of Lanka. This would also help to explain why in the *Rosary of Jewels*, Śāriputra's is linked to Siṅgala (in a previous incarnation) and to Jambala. However, Rig pa'i ral gri describes him as having four arms and riding a horse, and it is not clear if V/K could take such a form. However, according to this, the temple is in the South-east corner of the compound, whereas Rig ral's text seems to indicate that it is somewhere in the area of the North-West (according to Decleer). Also possibly Ratnagarbha found in enumerations of the thousand buddhas, also as one of the fifty-six buddhas of the *Lalitavistara*, in particular among the last group of human Tathāgatas (known as *Saptamanuṣi Buddha* when enumerated as seven). Ratnagarbha is usually included when they are enumerated as nine. See: Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 9; see also L. Chandra and Vira Raghu, *Buddhist Iconography: Newly Revised and Enlarged Edition Begun By the Late Prof. Raghu Vira*, (New Delhi: Sharada Rani, 1988), 596 where Ratnagarbha is listed (1861) as part of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā pantheon, in particular as one of the 36 eminences of Āryadeśa/India.

α′. Poss: *'deg, 'dag go.*

β′. Poss: *'byeg*; = *'gyogs su yongs.*

γ′. Read: *sleb.*

δ′. Read: *rim gro* (*paricaryā, satkāra,* etc. = rite to eliminate difficulties)?

rdzogs par zin te:__bcom ldan 'das dngon[α′] par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa'i dus mchod kyi tshes pa bcos[β′] lnga pa rab tu [6b5]_gnas pa mdzad do:__de nas rdo rje gdan dang shri na len tra dang:__rgyal po'i khab la swogs te:__bcom ldan 'das bzhugs pa'i gnas [6b6]_thams cad du:__mchod pa rnam lnga phul nas gnas kyi 'brel pa mdzad do:__de nas rgyal po rtsa bska' la ra tsa ces pa:__yul ma ga nta'i[γ′]

[7a1]_@//__rgyal po thams cad kyi nang nas mchog du gyur pa:__rigs ni nyi ma'i rigs te:__de la chos kyi 'khor lo bskor bas:_[7a2]_khong gi rgyud dul lo:__de nas yang rgyal po 'dze ta shing ka ces pa grongs par btsun mo'i rigs thams cad kyi nang nas mchog du khyur[δ′]:_[7a3]_u cha dhi bhīs:__rdo rje gdan gyi ghan to la'i phyed yan chad du ru ka'i dmags[ε′] gi[ς′] bshigs:_pa:__de'i zhig gsos byed pa'i yon [7a4]_bdag khong gi[ζ′] byas[7]:__zhal ta ngas byas nas zhig gso legs par mdzad do:__de ni bdag gi

7. This accords with Tāranātha's account: "*gandho la chen po dgu thog yod pa'i thog bzhi bar skabs su tu rushkas bshig pa legs par gsos.*" See Tāranātha, *Rgya gar chos 'byung*, 309. From the added detail of this account, plus the order of events surrounding Śāriputra's relation with the king, it seems that Tāranātha was working from a different source than this biography when compiling his history.

α′. read: *mngon.*

β′. *bcwo.*

γ′. Poss: *ma ga gta'i.*

δ′. Poss: *myur, phyur.*

ε′. Read: *dmag.*

ς′. Read: *gis.*

ζ′. Read: *gis.*

pha dang 'dra te:__dgos pa thams cad khong [7a5]_gi lag nas byung ngo:__de nas yang ma ga ta'i blon po dang:__dmag dpon la swogs pa skye bo'i tshogs thams cad der 'dus par gyur nas [7a6]_chos kyi 'khor lo rgya chen po bskor:__de nas yang rgyal po skyer shing dhe ba[8] zhes pa:__phyi nang 2 ka la mos pa cig yod pa de'i bla mchod [7b1]_mu stegs kyi mkhan po:__mu steg thams cad kyi nang nas mkhas pa:__rgya gar nub phyogs nas yongs pa 1 yod pa:__de [7b2]_dang zhag dgu'i bar du rtsod pa byas ste:__de'i dpang po la phyi nang gi pan tri ta mkhas pa thams cad:__yul de'i rgyal po dang:__blon po [7b3]_la swogs:__mi khrig mang po 'tshogs so:__der dang po rtso pa'i bzhi[α′] ni:__mu steg pa zer dus:__khong gi lha che zer te:_[7b4]_de ci'i phyir na:__nam mkha' yang bhi nu:__sa yang khyab 'dzug[β′] bhi nu:__phyi'i 'byung pa yang bhi nus yin pas na:__de dag gis [7b5]_don gyi che zer ro:__der ngas de ltar thams cad bhi nus yin zer ba:__thams cad bhi nu yin na:__khyod 'gro yang lha'i steng du 'gro zhing:__dri [7b6]_chu[γ′] la sogs pa thams cad kyang lha'i steng du 'der ba ci yin:__ces dris pas:__pan tri ta dang:__rgyal po [XX] la swogs pa'i dpang po thams cad bzhad gar[δ′] du

[8a1]_@//__gyur to//__der bdag gi:__ngas bshad kyi nyon 1:__chos thams cad ni

8. (Dāru)Haridrādeva?

α′. Read: *gzhi.*

β′. Read: *khyab 'jug* = Viṣṇu.

γ′. *dri chu* = *gcin skyag.*

δ′. Read: *bzhad gad.*

rtag cing ther zur[α′] ba ma yin te:__de ci'i phyir na:_[8a2]_snang srid 'khor 'das kyi syus[β′] pa'i chos thams cad ni ngo bo 1 yin no:__gang la sems yod pa de __la chos yod do:__de ci'i phyir na [8a3]_snang srid gyi syus pa'i chos thams cad stong zhing bdag med pa yin te:__gang stong nyid du shes pa de ni chos so:__de ci ltar na:__sa [8a4]_rdo ri brag rtse shing $_{\text{nags tshal}}$ la swogs pa thams cad sems las byung pa'i phyir ro:__de la swogs pa nyin zhag dgu'i bar du rtsod pa bya ste:__rtsod pa las:_[8a5]_rgyal nas:__pandi ta dang rgyal po la swogs pa'i dpong po thams cad kyis kyang dag pa phul lo:__shin tu dga' bar gyur to:__rgyal [8a6]_po phyi nang gnyis ka la mos par yod pa de:__de phyin 'jad[γ′] nang pa la shin du mos par 'gyur nas:$_{\text{da lta yang}}$ ma ha bho ti'i zhab [8b1]_thog[δ′] kyang che bar yod do:__de'i pandi ta de yang ta log de las slar log nas:__nang pa'i stan pa la zhugs par [8b2]_gyur to:__rgyal po de da lta yang bdag la mos par gyur to:__de nas rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po thams cad kyi nang nas mchog [8b3]_gyur pa:__'bud[ε′] rda sa mi zhes pa bde bar gshegs nas:__rgyal po bhir shing dhe ba'i phyag du:__khong gi lha dang chos dang:__kun [8b4]_dga' ra ba la swogs pa thams cad khongs la[ς′] 'dug pas:__bhir shing dhe ba la swogs pa'i rgyal po thams cad dang:__de rnams kyi blon po dang:__dkon $_{\text{gnyer}}$ la swogs pa

α′. Read: *ther zug.*

β′. i.e. *gsungs.*

γ′. *phyin 'jad = phyin chad.*

δ′. Read: *zhabs tog.*

ε′. Poss: *'byud.*

ς′. This may be a variant or honorific of *khong la* (cf. 9b6).

[8b5]_thams cad dang:__gzhan yang rab tu byung pa thams cad kyis kyang:__nged rnaMs kyi 'go 'don skyabs gnas drung pa mkhyen zer nas zhu ba nan cher byung pas:_[8b6]_nan pa[α′] theg par khas blangs ste:__mkhan po mdzad nas _rdo rje gdan gyi lha khang lcag ri la sogs pa thams cad zhig gsos dang:__lha khang rnying pa dang:__ri mo la swogs pa thams cad

[9a1]_@//__kyi zhig gsos zhabs thogs legs par mdzad do:__de nas lo 'kha' song pa'i tshe/__~~yang re shig dus na~~:[β′]__ma ga tar char 1 kyang ma 'bab par:__'bru'i [9a2]_tshogs thams cad skaM nas:__mi thams cad kyang sdug bsngal du gyur te:__der skye bo'i tshogs thams cad kyi[γ′] bdag la 'di ltar[δ′] sre rnaMs la ni re sa khyed las med pas [9a3]_char chen po 'bebs par zhu zer nas:__rgyal po la sogs pa thams cad kyi zhu ba nan cher gsol pas:__nga la sprul pa la sogs pa'i thabs gzhan ni med:_[9a4]_bcom ldan 'das kyi ring bsrel 1 yod pa 'di la:__mchod pa rnaMs lnga byed pas:__de'i mchod rdzas khyer shog 1 byaMs te:__me tog:__bdug spos:_[9a5]_mar me:__gdugs:__rgyal mtshan la sogs pa'i mchod pa rnaMs lnga zhag gsum du nyi mtshan med par phul bas:__der naM phyed tsam nas:__mngon [9a6]_suM du sgrul[ε′] kha dog rna[ς′] lnga tshangs ba

α′. Poss: *ma*.

β′. This phrase deleted.

γ′. Read: *kyis*.

δ′. *'di ltar* interpolated.

ε′. Read: *sbrul*.

ς′. Read: *sna*.

1:__ga nas byung cha med par byung te:__de nas bcom ldan 'das kyi ring bsrel de la phyag dang:__bskor ba mchod [9b1]_pa byed ~~ching~~[α′] pa'i rnaMs[β′] pa byed cing:_bdag la 'ang phyag gi rnaM pa byas nas log song ngo:__de nas zhag bdun nyin mtshan me par char [9b2]_chen po 'babs pas:__ma ga ta'i yul de ni mtsho lta bur gyur te:__der rgyal po la sogs pa'i skye bo'i tshags thams cad kyang shin du nas [9b3]_kyang dga' bar gyur nas:__nga rang dang 'phrad pa rnaMs kyis dngos su phyag byed:__ma 'phrad pa rnaMs kyis kyang rgyang nas phyag byed pa byung ngo:_[9b4]_der yang sog_ po'i pan tri ta mkhas pa 1 gis:__thams cad dkor[γ′] cing:__phyi nang 2 ka la rtsod pa'i__[δ′]/__dpon slob tshan chen byas [9b5]__nas der byung ngo:__der khong gi lta ba la:__khyed kyi lha la songs pa 'di rnaMs thams cad bzhengs nas ci byed pa yin:__snang srid kyi sdud [9b6]_pa'i chos thams cad ni stong pa yin te:__lus 'di ni shi nas ~~len~~[ε′] len rgyu med zer:__der bdag gi khongs la smras pa:__khyed zer dus lus

[10a1]_@//__shi nas len rgyu med zer te:__lus len pa ni yod do:__ci ltar yod na:__'jig rten 'khor ba pa la sogs pa'i skye 'gro [10a2]_thams cad ga nas[ϛ′] byung pa

α′. *ching* deleted.

β′. Read: *rnam.*

γ′. Read: *skor*? = "to weigh" or "to travel about/circle"? As *dkor* is followed by the particle *jing*, we cannot use the noun "wealth," which would not make sense in the context anyway, but need a verb.

δ′. Something erased here.

ε′. *len* deleted.

ϛ′. Read: *kha nas.*

yin na:__de rnaMs thams cad skye ba yod pa'i don la byung pa yin no:__de yang lus mi len pa[α′] yang yod do:__ci ltar [10a3]_yod na:__rnaM pa thams cad mkhyen pa rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas thob na lus mi len pa yod do:__de yang ye shes kyi zugs can[β′] no:__de ltar ma thob kyi [10a4]_bar du:__'khor ba nas 'khor bar 'khyams shing:__lus mi len pa 1 kyang med do:__yang khyod zer dus thams cad stong pa yin zer te:__stong [10a5]_pa yin:_[mod stong lugs ni[γ′] 1]_stong pa ci ltar yin na:__dmigs med kyang ma yin:__dmigs bcas kyang ma yin:__'gro 'ongs med bzhin rang bzhin gnas [10a6]_pas na:__de ni gnas mi gnas kyi mtha' dang bral sa'o:__de ci'i phyir na:__khyod rang gi sems kyi rnaM par rtog pa'i drangs ni:_[10b1]_khyod rang gi yi zin cing:__'phro 'du yod pa'i don gyis:__stong pa yang ma yin ces kho 'os[δ′] smras pas:__de nas sogs pa'i [10b2]_pan tri ta thams cad kyang:__1 gis 1 la mig lta zhing de ltar yin par 'dug zer nas yid ches so:__kho 'os ni rnal 'byor dbang [10b3]_phyug 3 dang 'jal te:__de 3 la 'ang:__gdaM ngag so sor zhus pa ni 3 po gang yin na:__ghou

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α′. = *gdon?*

β′. Read: *gzugs can.*

γ′. Poss: *tshe.*

δ′. Read: *kho bos.* In next line also.

len nA to'i[α′]_{kha}[*] drung du gha'i bu'i drung du {nga}[**] dpal ldan [10b4]_bhir bcha'i drung bag ksha ste 3 mo:_du:_{cha}[***]_de lta bu'i grub thob rnaMs dang:__'jal nas:__de sting kho bo rdo rje gdan na yod do:__de nas yang bya rgod phung [10b5]_po la sogs pa'i:__bcom ldan 'das bzhugs pa'i gnas dang:__phug pa thams cad bskor ro:__de sting kho bo'i rtog pa la:__ci kyang rgya gar nub [10b6]_phyogs la 'gro dgos bsaM pa cig byung pa dang:__nub[β′] cig gi rmi lam du ci ltar byung na rgyaM[γ′] bdag la me tog mang po 'nul lo:

α′. Poss: *Ghou len nū to*, but as he is portrayed as a follower of Goraknātha in other biographies, *nāto* [= *nātha*?] is most likely correct. The initial syllable is difficult to ascertain: *ga* superscribed over a *ta/ha*, with a *na ro* above and a *shab chu* or long *'a chung* below. A long "o" would not seem to make sense for a presumably Sanskrit[ized] transcription. In later biographies his name is *Golenātha, and one wonders if this is the Gunarana Mahāsvamin (孤捺囉納麻曷薩彌) of the Chinese biography, instead of his ordination guru mentioned above.

β′. Poss: *zhub*.

γ′. Poss: *thaM*.

*. {ka}:_'tshe med grub pa'i rlung gi man ngag lta ba mtha' gnyis dung [read: dang?] 'bral ba zhus so//

**. {ga}:_rtsa rlung 'chi med gnad kyi gdaM(s) pa myur 'gyogs rlung gi shugs lta bu 'dzin no//__gnad kyi gdaMs pa ngo bo bde ba stong du rtogs pa nus so//

***. {ca}:_rnal 'byor ma'i 'chi med grub pa rlung dang ye shes gnas gyur nas ngo bo dmigs med stong gsal nam mkha' lta bur stogs pa'i gdams pa zhus so//__gdan ma [or: gdam ngag?] gnad dang gnad gyi gdus pa phun sum tshogs ma/pa yin pa 'ga' dang 'ga' [or: 'gal dang 'gal] la zhus so/_~~des lta srid lo des dang [XXX]:__kho po rdo rje gdan na yod do/__de nas yang bya rgo phung po la swogs pa'i bcom ldan 'das kyis bsdus ba'i gnas dang phug pa thams cad bskor ro~~//__rgyal po kho bo rdo rje gdan gyi 'dram na dskor ba sgyur byed +

[11a1]_@//[*]__de nas kho bos lha khang nang du phyin nas:__bcom ldan 'das kyi sku gzugs la phyag dang skor ba byas te:__me tog snyim pas [11a2]_gtor ro:__yang steng gi sku gzugs rnaMs kyi drung du phyin nas kyang de ltar byas so:__de'i yang thog na byub[9] shing la bskor ba byas pa[α′] yod pas:__der [11a3]_yang bskor ba byas so:__der kho bo dang mnyaM du skye bu kar po shin tu bdzes pa 1 'dug ste:__mnyaM du skor ba byas te:__kho bos kyang byang[β′] [11a4]_phyogs la ltas pa dang:__byang phyogs de na lha khang khyad du 'phags pa phyi dkar ba dung ltar du yod pa:__nang na ri mo sna tshogs [11a5]_yod pa 1 'dug pa:__de'i 'dab na phar[γ′] la nag tshal dang:__shing thogs 'bras bu la sogs pa snogs kyang 'dug go:__bkod pa legs pa [11a6]_khyed do 'phags pa 'dug te:__der kho bos skyes bu dkar po de la ya ge gang yin ces dris pa dang:__skyes bu de na re:__rdo rje gdan 2 yod pa'i [11b1]_1 pha ge yin gsungs:__kho bos rdo rje gdan 2 yod daM ces bris[δ′] sam:__2 yod zer:__kho bos thos pa la 1 las med zer ba la 2 'dug [11b2]_yang ces pas:__skyes bu de na re:__2 po khyad med pa'i Nang[ε′] nas kyang ya gi khyad par du 'phags gsungs so:/__der kho bos ltar phyin na mthong

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9. i.e. *byang chub.*

α′. Poss: *sa.*

β′. *byang* interpolated.

γ′. Poss: *yar.*

δ′. Read: *dris.*

ε′. *Nang* = *nang.*

*. [this note is probably a continuation of the last note, i.e. read: "...sgyur byed kyin 'dug..."] kyin 'dug pa dang:__der me tog mtshong pa'i skyes bu 1 nung byung nas:__bdag la ~~[gun laM?] me tog mang po phul~~ [last phrase deleted].

ngam ces [11b3]_dris pas:__khyod rang gi[α′] 'gro yod na mthong gsungs:__de $_{na}$ legs so:__ltar 'gro byas lte:__kho bos phyir phyin te byang phyogs la kha ltas te [11b4]_laM 1 la phyin pa dang:__laM 2 'dug pa'i:__1 nub du 'gro ba'i laM du 'dug:/ __1 byang du 'gro ba'i laM du 'dug go:__der nub la [11b5]__'gro ba'i laM de la phyin pa dang:__laM thams cad tsher mas 'gag pa dang:__'dam la 'ang ma thar ro:__der skye bu kar po de byon nas khyod kyi [11b6]_laM de ma yin gyis:__byang phyogs la 'gro ba'i laM 'di yin gsungs nas:__laM stan no:__der kho bos byang phyogs la phyin pa dang:__laM

[12a1]_@//__na yar shing thogs[10] dang:__me tog snogs 'dug cing:__shing thogs kyang zos cing:__me tog kyang 'thus te:__der grongs khyer chen po 1 du [12a2]_slebs pa dang:__de'i[β′] skyes pa dang bu med thams cad kyang 'dzug gir[γ′] 'dug go:__de rnaMs thams cad kyang gos[δ′] dmar po ^{kyang} gon 'dug go:__de'i laM nas bla ma 1 [11a3]_mthong ngo:__de'i gsung nas khyed gang du 'byon pa yin:__'dir byon gsungs nas phyag gi bda' ma dzad[ε′] do:__kho bos phyin pa dang bla a de ni [12a4]_nge rang gi yul na yod pa'i dge slong snyen pa yongs su rdzogs par:__bhud

10. Read: *togs.*

α′. Read: *gis*? "If you go by yourself..."

β′. Read: *der*?

γ′. *'dzug gir = yogi*?

δ′. Poss: *gso.*

ε′. Read: *mdzad*?

dha thAM saM ther[α′] zer ba de yin par 'dug go:__bla ma de na re khyed kyi[β′] [12a5]_byams pa'i chos shes saM gsungs:__khos bos dun pa shes ces smras pas:_{kha}[*]_der 'grel staM[γ′] dpag du med pa byung ngo:__der 1 gi 1 la legs legs so [12a6]_ces byin te:__rang re 2 1 par 'dug zer ro:_{nga}[**]_de nas yang byang la phyogs yongs pas:__ri 1 'dug pa de'i steng na zhal shar la bstan[δ′] pa'i gtsug lag [12b1]_khang 1 'dug go:__de'i nang na bcom ldan 'das bzhug sa'i g.yas phyogs na:__sbrul cig langs nas snyan gyi thad na mgo khug ge [12b2]_'dug go:__deng mi thams cad phyag 'tshal du 'gro ba la:__sbrul de la zheng nas thams cad log byung ngo:__der kho bos gtsug lag khang der [12b3]_sleb ste:__sgo nang na yar lta zhing phyin no:__der sbrul de na re khyed 'dir byon cig zer nas mgo khug khug byed kyin 'dug go:__der kho bos gtsug lag khang[ε′] bcom ldan 'das kyi sku de la phyag byas nas:__nga'i bsaM pa la:__klu ya ge la mchod ba 1 byed dgos:__klu yang [12b5]_yang mi mthong:__mi

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α′. ther = thera[vāda]?

β′. read: kyis

γ′. read: gtam

δ′. read: brtan

ε′. gtsug lag khang has dots above, possbly indicating intended deletion

*. {ka}:_der 'grel gtam mang du byung te:__khong na re:__dang por byaMs pa'i bskal pa chags pa dang:__bar du gnas pa dang:__mthar 'jig pa dang:__sku tshe'i tshad dang:__chos gnas pa la swogs pa thams cad zhi(b)_[poss: shi(g)] byung/ /__skal pa bzang po 'di la:__[Śākya]_thub pa yan la sangs rgyas bzhi song:__byaMa pa byon nas:__lnga 'grel [or: 'gro ba] yin mod [or: med]:__byaMs pa'i dus kyi tshe tshad ni lo brgyad khri thub:__de'i dus kyi mi rnaMs thams cad kyang bde skyid dang ldan pa yod zer cing

**. {ga}:_'grel gtam ni [this passage deleted]

thams cad kyang klu mthong na mchod pa byed dgos zer:__der mchod pa byed pa'i rdzas bzhan med par:__mgo nas zhwa phud te:_[12b6]_mchod pa byed pa la de'i 'dun du stebs[α′] nas bzhag go:__der sbrul des zhwa de la thu thu zer ba lan 3 byas:__khyod nad med pa dang

[end of MS]

α′. read: *stobs*?

APPENDIX II.I

TRANSLATION

OF

[1A] THE ARCANE BIOGRAPHY OF MAHĀPAṆḌITA ŚĀRIPUTRA

DURING HIS RESIDENCE IN THE HOLY LAND

[1b] Obeisance to the gurus!

Beautified on the crown with a jewel, the profound path of the holy *dharma*,
Lustrous with the spreading of the cobra hood (*nāgaphaṇaka*), the secret mantra,
Having reverently bowed to the feet of the Mahāpaṇḍita, the Lord of Nāgas,
These secret *dharmas* are written in vaidurya.

This Lord of Dharma himself said:

During [my] eighth year, when [I] and [my] retinue went to play in the pleasure garden, [I] saw the complete arms and legs of a snake. At that time, I spoke ~~openly~~ [about it] to [my] guru like this, "is what I have seen in such a manner an auspicious (*dge ba'i mtshan*) or inauspicious sign?" [He replied:] "Such a thing as that is like an Udumbara flower and the *dharma*: things that do not occur at all times, but only happen a few times on the highway [of life] (*rgya lam*). Seeing that is an auspicious indication." Thus [my] guru spake, [Śāriputra] said. [He] asked: "Well, how do the limbs spread out?" "Adorned with many marks of limbs from both sides, left [and]

right, like the movements of buckets attached to a water-wheel. Time and again, the sequence unconfused, it goes on.

But, that's not all. For receiving the five domains of knowledge[1] an *upāsaka* should obtain, [I] associated with some worthy friends. Since [I] went wandering in the direction of there where there was a clear sign of a path in the middle, where the ground of the path was completely covered with crooked roots, leaves and fruit; it was a isolated, dense forest. There, in the middle of the path was the king of *rlung* snakes: every nose had a head, [and it was] adorned with the five colors in a series. Food was supplied by another class of snake. And if [they] did not supply [food], that kind of species became food to be eaten [by the snake-king]. But, having been eaten, [they] did not die [lit.: their vital faculties were not blocked]. Having been eaten through one mouth, [they] came out from an[other] mouth. Dismissed, [they] were permitted to go. Since that sentient being was the king of snakes, the seeing of whom makes such a person one who will become one who has conquered (*dbang du bsdud* [= *bsdus*] *'gyur*) the races of *nāga*. In sum, when [I] saw wondrous things at the time of being young and small; later, when I reached adulthood, I did not forget. [So] he said.

[1] [*Rig*] *gnas lnga*. This refers to the five higher sciences (*rig gnas che ba lnga*). The five higher sciences are: *sgra rig pa* (grammar & linguistics), *gtan tshigs rig pa* (logic & epistemology), *gso ba rig pa* (medical sciences), *bzo rig pa* (arts, crafts, technology), *nang don rig pa* (Buddhism). See "Science religieuse et sciences séculières en Inde et au Tibet: *Vidyāsthāna* indo-bouddhiques et *rig gnas* indo-tibétains. Remarques sur la nature et les finalités des études indo-tibétaines," in Seyfort Ruegg, *Ordre spirituel et ordre temporal dans la pensée bouddhique de l'Inde et du Tibet*, 95-147.

At age eleven, together with a large group of young friends, enjoying [ourselves] in a far-off wood, a place bedecked with grass, leaves, tree branches, etc. When I was on the road again, [I] saw, at one great [and] fearsome (*'jigs su rung ba*)[2] charnel ground, there was an absolutely majestic black dog [with] eyes fiercely radiating light, like the eyes of a cat. The next morning, before the lama, [I] narrated the previous account.

"Did the appearance of fear arise in you or not?" [he] asked.

"I did not have any indication of fear," [I] replied to him.[3]

"In that case, it is very good. So, in the future, the Śrī Nātha female guardian spirits (*rakṣā*) will be your companions and support. And, following you [constantly] like a body and [its] shadow,[4] [they] will bestow accomplishment (*siddhi*) and expel [your] enemies[5]. [This] is a sign of a purge coming.[6]" He spoke of this and more. Even though there were many, unfathomable, wondrous portents, for awhile [I] hid [them], like underground treasure.

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[2] Jäschke translates this same expression as "calculated to terrify" and "terrible" (*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 531).

[3] The object (or patient) of the Tibetan verb *'jigs* takes the agentive particle (and later *la*). See Hahn, *Lehrbuch der klassischen tibetischen Schriftsprache*, 63; Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, 176. Therefore, these two sentences could be read as querying if the dog feared the young Śāriputra. While this is possibly (and grammatically) correct, it is more probable that the dog would be the object of the young Śāriputra's fear.

[4] This is not an uncommon metaphor for the relationship of a person and guardian spirit. Cf. Tulku Urgyen, *Blazing Splendor*, 18: "This guardian spirit will follow you everywhere like a shadow follows a body."

[5] This indicates physical and mental sicknesses, etc.

[6] If we read *phrogs* as *phyogs*, we could translate "...and [they] will drive out (*phyir bskrad*) all [your] enemies (*mi mthun phyogs*)."

At age fourteen, once when making powerful exertions, having dreamed that I ate up all the broth [and] dregs of boiled human flesh, I asked the lama [about this]. From the lord's lips: "You are one all men will come to revere," he said. "When you dream of eating flesh without restraint, [this] is probably (*yin ba 'dra*) a sign of rising accomplishment (*siddhi*)," he said. A translator asked, "In what manner did other wondrous omen arise?" "Having asked about anything and everything, then what? Save [your] ink and paper, which are the companions of cogitation! Nothing is gained." [The lama] replied, not wanting to have anything to do with such things (*de res gnang du ma 'dod*).

Based on (*bsags*) things like discussions concerning later times and in dependence upon (*brten*) there being some connection with former aspiration, at the time of having a one-pointed mind which thought to go, without any trappings whatsoever (*ci la yang m chags par*), to the middle of the Sahaloka, the navel of the world, the place where all the buddhas of the three times arrive, the true (*sat; dam pa*) field (*kṣetra; zhing khams*) where the *muni*, the supreme guide of the bipeds (*rkang gnyis*) manifestly attained *nirvāṇa.*

At that time, in my monastery, there was a tree on which [religious] banners waved. A few years before (*yar na*), [someone] said: "[It] needs to be moved. Since right at this very time (*da lan 'di la*), there exists a great sign of interdependence (*rten 'brel*), cut down a tree from the southern directions (*lho phyogs rnams*) with you at the head of many people (*khyod gyi mgos byas rnams kyis*)!" Having said that, I went in that direction with only two thousand [helpers]; having cut an eighty fathom [long], straight tree, [I] planted it in the monastery.

Then I asked to go to Vajrāsana. "This monastery of mine is becoming empty. Concerning you, having prophesied by scattering a few arrows (*mdo'* = *mda'*?):

> In the seat of the buddhas at Vajrāsana, the puruṣa who is known as "Ocean-born Śari" (? *rgya mtshor skyes*[7] *sha ri*), clear away the enemy *sog po*, known as "turuka" [i.e. Turuṣkas = Turks/Muslims]! The king of that (people/place), known as Herumkha, destroyed the upper part of the Vajrāsana ghaṇḍola, and also razed the surrounding wall (the "iron mountain") and stūpas, etc. Plus, [he] also cut down the *bodhi* tree. At that time, an emanation of a *Buddhaḍakinī*, [whose] *vamśa* [is] Candravamśa (*zla ba'i rigs*), one known as "U cha" will act as the sponsoress[8]; and one [whose] *vamśa* [is] a royal lineage of brahmans (*bram ze'i rgyal rigs*), a *bhikṣu* known as "Śari," having given advice on the repairs, it [the *ghaṇḍola*, *stūpas*, etc.] will be refurbished. The *bodhi* tree will be reborn immaculately. The teachings of the Buddha will also spread expansively.

The prophesy which states that is in accord with [those which] exist (*'dug*) in a few *sūtras*, and furthermore, there are many [favorable] omens. Therefore, with respect

[7] *Rgya mtsho skyes* = *sindhujanmā*, which is a poetic name for the moon.

[8] Compare this to the scene in the exoteric biography in which a similar sponsoress is named.

to [your] going to Vajrāsana, perform actions which benefit sentient beings and the teachings of the Buddha!" Thus he spoke.

* * *

Obeisance to the gurus!

[I] will write a piece (*zur tsam*) of the secret biography, which is the Mahāpaṇḍita Śrī Śāriputra arriving in Tibet. Having gone to a secret cave (*gsang brag phug tu*) on the seventeenth day of the fifth month, after seven days had passed, when the Dharmarāja settled into *samādhi*, one who had the appearance of a boy, clad in white clothing, appeared. Having bestowed into my hand a hundred[-and-eight-bead] rosary, he said, "You count/tell the *mantra* on this!" Further, a white[-clad] boy said, "You, strive in the making of *maṇḍalas*!" To him [I said], "Having gathered flowers, I will make the offering." Again he spoke: "Do it now! I will watch." And [I] said, "Well then, you watch! I will make the *maṇḍala* now." So, while making the offering, the things meant for the right, [I] put on the left; the things meant for the left, [I] put on the right; what was meant for the front, [I] put in the back; what was meant for the back, [I] put in the front. [I] was being impelled to put everything backwards (*thams cad shul rjes nas 'jog gin 'jug*). Then, [I] having said "You watch!" [and] having repeatedly made the *maṇḍala* like that [i.e. backwards], by offering this spectacle, the boy said, "Okay, do it like this," and like that in the dream I composed all the deities on the inside of the *maṇḍala*, presented the five offerings, prostrated

and praised, accomplished the *sādhana* and *pūja*, and so forth, all done well. Then [I] woke up.

Then, after a month had passed, having seen in a dream one night a manifestation [of] my root guru atop a great throne, facing towards the East, I also sat (*'dug*) in the presence of the seated (*bzhugs*) one. Furthermore, there was a queen and a young boy, eight years old [and] the son of the king. From the words of the guru: "I am going to give *abhiṣekha* to this boy, so request [it]!" Also from the words of the guru: "Queen, for the *abhiṣekha* for him, something looking like a sword of gold is needed. Do you have it?" The queen said to him, "I did not come carrying my sword." From the guru's mouth: "I have [one]. Take the key from the hand of my attendant, and from the treasury, you take and bring what looks like a sword which empowers people." And then I came carrying the sword from the treasury. Then [he] gave the *abhiṣeka* to the young boy, but [he] did not understand [its] essence. The mother said [to me], "Since the child is only young, [he] does not understand the essence. [I] did not request the *abhiṣeka* because the young boy needs [it]; [I] requested [it] because you need [it]. So, you come here [and receive the empowerment]."

"The empowerment is done with a [sword of] only four *sor* (finger lengths), encrusted with various jewels, with the blade made of crystal, the handle made of ivory, the color like the sky, the pommel made from gold, and since you need that sword also, take [it]!" Having said (*gsung*) [this], she gave (*snang* = *gnang*) [it to me]. "Memorize and recite this *mantra* (*snying po*) also! You will attain great benefit." Having spoken, she gave this *mantra*:

So, [she] gave the *mantra* from [her] mouth, repeating [it] three times. [She] also gave this sword into [my] hands. Carrying that sword, I went northwards, and there was a large town. There were five colored houses: red, yellow, blue, green [and] white.[9] There were also many temples. I went to the home of the headman of the town, and inside there were many *dharma* books. There were also many people. In the mid-level of that [house], the mistress (who looked like a youthful maiden) was decorated with various ornaments. Having approached her, [and] having asked someone, "Who is this?", that [latter] one said, "don't you know?"

"Didn't I ask because I don't know?"

That person said forcefully: "That is your own guru's *mudrā* [i.e. consort]."

"I *what*??" [I] said to him. "My guru is well versed in the *vinaya* [and] perfectly upholds the vows [of a monk], so how could he have a *mudrā*?"

Again speaking (*zer*) forcefully: "This is something you didn't know. As for her, [she] is a secret mother [i.e. consort]." Having heard that, I approached (*rtsa du phyin*) her, and she said (*de nas...zer*), "Whence have you come? Sit!" I said (*byas*) to her, "[I] came from the presence of the guru." And [she] replied (*zer*), "Is your guru's health [lit: "body element"] well?" "[His] health is well; the guru also gave me this sword." Having spoken (*byas*), [I] showed [the sword] to the woman, and

[9] This recalls the five colors associated with each member of the five buddha families.

[she] said, "if [you] are worthy of procuring this sword of your guru, [this] is very auspicious. Good! Good!"

Then I again woke from that dream and it came to mind that the guru was the protector Mañjuśrī; the mother was Upakeśinī[10], *Nye ba'i sgra can ma* in Tibetan.

Again when I sat in equanimity, as if in a dream the Lady Tārā appeared to me; [she,] the dark-red one [with] one face [and] two arms, the right [hand] making the gesture (*brda*) of threat (*sdig 'dzub bskor*), the left making a fist on [her] heart (*thug khar khu tshur*). Then, [she] gave these words and *mantra* (*brda dang snying po*):

Homage to Noble Tārā!

[Oh] faithful one, educated, striving [in your] vows, diligent,

One who, in this life, is happy and accomplishes the benefit of others (*phyi mi*)

Having gone to a secluded place, dwelt in the bliss [of] the teachings (*bstan bde la 'dug*)

Then generated the supreme mental state [of] beatitude,

And gone for refuge in the guru [and] the three jewels,

From the state [of] Emptiness, atop a seat of lotus [and] moon,

One whose two legs assume the posture of *vajraparyaṅka*,[11]

Dark red [in] color, one faced, two armed,

The right [hand] curled into a threatening[12] [*mudra*] and making a gesture,

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[10] *U pa skye se ne* in the text.

[11] *Rdo rje dkyil dkrung* aka *rdo rje skyil krung*. This is a posture generally equated with *padmāsana*, though this association should perhaps be given more thought.

A sign of teaching *dharmatā* completely in a gesture.

The left [hand] making a fist *mudrā* on the heart,

A sign of all knowledge without exception penetrating the heart.

With a crown [and] earrings [of] coral [and] jewels,

[Her] beautiful body [wearing] billowing, divine clothing,

Hair tied in the back [with] a braid hanging down

in the manner of a youthful maiden, sixteen years old.

Moon-faced, [with] oblong, lotus-like eyes,

[And] a lovely body with mellifluous voice.

This *dharani* was spoken from the mouth of this [one]:

OM TĀRE GŌTRA RAKṢE TU RE SVĀ HĀ

Goddess! By recalling you to mind,

Like a wishing tree (*kalpatā*) and wish-fulfilling jewel,

[You,] who, if supplicated, grants (*rtsol mdzad*) [all] needs and desires,

She who bestows (*rtsol mdzad ma*) the supreme and ordinary *siddhi*s,

Who loves all beings like [her own] child,

Perfect [my] knowledge of attaining buddhahood!

With the virtue accrued from writing this, may I attain the omniscience of all there is to know.

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[12] *Sdig 'dzub* (Skt. *tajjnī*). A *mudrā* usually translated as "threatening."

* * *

The one from Vajrāsana, Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi [said]:

In the mountain cave of the secret *piṭha* 'Chings phu [= Mchims phu[13]], a mountain like *Gṛdhrakūṭa* (Vulture Peak), in a dream one night, the Lady Tārā showed various signs and actions, and made a speech (*gsung sngags gnas*) possessing the benefits of seeing, hearing, remembering, [and] touching. This [one said]: "Help many beings!"

To the northeast of [a mountain] like *Rājagṛha*, [on] the upper southern slope of [a mountain] like the mountain of *Gṛdhrakūṭa*, in the mountain cave of 'Chings phu Dge'u gsang pa, the one from Vajrāsana, Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi, having intuited impermanence and non-self and everything as without essence, when he was in a one-pointed (*ekāgra*), meditative state just before dawn[14] on the fourth day of the fourth month of the sheep year [1403/1415], the Mahāpaṇḍita Dharmarāja, at the time of dwelling equanimously in the *samādhi* which is free from elaborations, a white[-clad] boy said: "Concerning what is called 'The Whole World,' as well as what are called 'Vajrāsana, Śrī Nālandā, and Mahābodhi,' [they] surely exist within the body of each person." Then that boy, having spoken from within the state of *samādhi*, disappeared. Just after that (*de'i 'tshams su*), there was a translator at the door. Having poked [his] head through the door, [he] made some gestures with

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[13] See note on 'Chings phu in chapter four.

[14] *Nam smad*, alternately defined as the second half of the night, the time between midnight and dawn, and 3-4am.

both hands. A *śramaṇa* said (*zer*), "That which is called 'sky sky' seems to have a conceptual framework." "All that is free from a conceptual framework; because of not knowing that, [your question] is the result," [Śāriputra] said (*gsungs*).

Again, just as he was not shaken from that *samādhi*, the Bhagavan [appeared], whose body color was like the gold of the river Dzambu (*mdzam bu chu'o = chu bo*)[15], adorned on [his] body with the 32 [major] marks and the 80 secondary marks of a *mahāpuruṣa*, with an *uṣṇīṣa* hidden from view, [and] wearing clothing of monk's robes (*cīvara*). As for [his] body, [it] made pulsations (*'phro 'dus*) of sunbeams. I saw [such a] one in the sky before me. Still, I did not wake from that *samādhi*. Further, on my right was Dzambhala, yellow-bodied, grasping a mongoose in his hand, with a large and majestic body, large eyes and stomach. On the left came Lady Tārā, adorned with various of precious ornaments similar to her skin color, with [her] right [hand] on [her] knee in *būsparśa* [*mudrā*], the thumb [and] forefinger touching. On the left, [her] fingers joined to clasp a blue Utpala flower above her shoulder. A thought arose: "I must make prostrations and circumambulations to the supports (*'dzin pa rnams*) [and] to the Bhagavatī." Then, [my] mind made the aspiration, "Bhagavatī, I supplicate, may you liberate all sentient beings from Saṃsāra, the great ocean of suffering. I also pray that you accomplish whatever is thought of[16]. From the state of that prayer, I awoke from

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[15] A similar description is found in Nyang ral Nyi ma'i 'od zer's *Chos 'byung me tog snying po* (Meisezahl ed., 24a1), as a name for Śākyamuni, *'Dzam bu'i gling gser gyi chu bo dang ldan pa.*

[16] Unclear if she is to accomplish whatever she thinks of or whatever Śāriputra thinks of.

that *samādhi*. Then, I prayed to the Tathāgatā, and furthermore having made prayers of exhortation to the Tathāgatas, from that state I again settled into a state of equanimity.

* * *

In Sanskrit: Guhyana samaya mudrā kathā

In Tibetan: Commentary which is the Seal of Secret Samaya

Homage to Śrī Cakrasaṃvara!

The Dharmarāja Mahāpaṇḍita [said]: From the ninth to the thirteenth [day] of the twelfth month of the sheep year [1404/1416], considering the saint (*skye bu dam pa; satpuruṣa*), the Guru Dpal mdzes (*Śrīkānti) to be a *sugata*, or furthermore having presented offerings of the triad outer, inner and secret [varieties], of real objects and mental phantasmagoria, to the divine retinue of Bhagavan Cakrasaṃvara for the benefit of all sentient beings, [and] by supplicating one-pointedly, at midnight of the twelfth day, a vision (*mthong snang*) occurred as follows: two external appearances (*cha byad*) of a man and woman arose. The appearance of the man was dark blue (*mthun mthing*) in color. [His] hair was long, covering his shoulders. Adorned with various ornaments, [he was] as big as a person. Very close to him was a nubile woman whose unbraided hair hung down. Plus me, [we] made three. At that time, the man said this to me: "Do you know how to take care of something which your people do not see?" I said, "I know things like that." [He] asked, "How

[do you] take care [of it]?" As a reply, [I] said, "Having wrapped, bound, [and] sealed it is the means of looking after it." Further, the man uttered these words, "If [it] is wrapped in containers of cotton, etc. it could still be seen by others." Again, [I] spoke, "How can [you] take care of something that will not be seen by others?" Again, he said (*zer*), "What is unseen by others, I know. Do you have something?" "I have this thing," [I] said (*byas*). [I] put some broken bits of silver into his hands. Taking them in his hand, he said, "Don't hide [them] somewhere else; leave [them] hidden within your own body!" Having said that, [he] tore open my throat with [his] two hands. Then, placing them in the immediate vicinity of [my] heart, [he] concealed [them] in [my] navel with [his] hands.[17] Then I asked him, "Everyone says, 'where do you imagine the letter "*a*"?'" The man said, "The letter '*a*' should be imagined in the navel." Then I awoke from that state, and a thought like this arose in my mind: "I think that man is Heruka. That woman is Bhagavatī." As for that thing hidden inside me, [it] was a sign of untying the knots of the three *cakras* and attaining some juice of the dharma (*chos kyi bcud cung zad*; **dharmarasāyana*?). Saying "'*a*' resides at the navel," is a sign of the wheels of *mantra* such as consonants and vowels (*a li ka li*) turning; or otherwise, "*a*" is a sign of the non-arising of the highest.[18]

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[17] There may be a play on the word *bzhag* in this sentence, which is both the past tense of *'jog*, "to leave/put" as well as being an independent verb meaning "to tear/burst." Therefore, this sentence might also mean that something burst the heart, and that that command is not to leave something, but to tear. It is clear, however, that his throat was opened (*kha phye*).

[18] See Chapter Four for a discussion of this passage in relation to the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*.

Then I presented to the Bhagavatī the offerings of actual wealth and mental phantasmagoria. For the benefit of the faithful saint:

For the purpose of guiding [us], the glorious guru
Makes unequalled meditation [on] Cakrasaṃvara, etc.
The *yidam* deity teaches unequalled meditation.
Having taught each individual clearly and without obfuscation,
The unequalled meaning and/with mantra, such as the three *cakras*,
Liberating [us] from great suffering and the three worlds.
[I] bow down to he who teaches the unparalleled meaning with signs.
The young monk, clear-minded [and] intelligent (*blo gsal yid bzhungs pa*),
Unconfused in the meaning which he faithfully heard and
The one called Don grags, who practices generosity, ethics, the commands of the guru, etc.
Jñānaśrī, of unwavering *dhyāna* and *samādhi*, sky-like mind and who realizes the commands of the guru,
Requested [this] well, having devotedly offered prostrations,
So, this meditation of *uttaratantra* was given.
Because of that, it will be concealed from the ill-fortuned ones.
[It] is *samaya*. Clutch [it] like heart-blood!

Mnga' ris Lotsawa Jñānaśrī did/translated [this] according to the Mahāpaṇḍita's orders.

Then also, at the time of dwelling in 'Phrang kha[19] itself, [on] the twenty-fifth night of the fourth month of the male-wood-monkey year [called] *nyi sgrol byed* [1404], the Stang lung pa guru Brston 'grus legs pa [said], "Because this will have great benefits, [I] requested the lotsā ba to pray fervently to the *yidam*." One with unfathomable knowledge and inconceivable great compassion, the precious *mahāpaṇḍita* uttered these words: "By supplicating one-pointedly to the divine retinue of the *maṇḍala* of the protector Mañjuśrī, I dream I am three. How could this be? The being in front, the white[-clad] boy brandishing a sword and trident; the being behind also holding aloft a sword and trident. The pair has the marks of being at the perfect age (*dar la bab*). Between those two, I also brandished a sword and trident. Then walking, facing towards the border of *Rlung lha*,[20] [we] went there. Since the nature of the trees on all the paths to that [place] were unruly [and] dense, there was no [way] to go. Then, I asked, "This path has grown dark with brambles and so forth. What is the meaning [of this]?" The man who went before me said (*zer*), "Formerly, this path was well maintained (*bde mo*); now, there are blockages." Then I said (*byas*), "Clear the path!" Then the white[-clad] boy who went before me and I, we both cut down and chopped up all the trees with a blade, clearing [the path]. As a result, nothing like brambles and so on were on that path, and it was well maintained (*bde ba*). As soon as we crossed the path, there were many fields. The long shoots in those fields were a few cubits [tall]. The short ones

[19] This may be a place name, or simple the mouth (*kha*) of a cave situated on a narrow defile (*'phrang*).

[20] This may be a place name, or simply refer to the northwest, the guardian deity of which direction is Rlung lha (Vayu).

were a few finger-spans [tall]. There was a mountain there. That mountain and the eastern and southern [mountain range] were high. The northern and western [range] was low. [In] form, the southeast mountain range was long. Halfway into the mountain [range], there lay a town. Therein, a boy whom I recognized came towards me. Having offered, as a gift of greeting, something with a white tail equal to the size of its body, he prostrated, and also offered [it] to the boy who went behind me. Then I arrived there where there was another town, in a place over (*phar phyin*) from that [previous town]. There, many crowds of people made [their] venerations (*bsnyan bkur*), such as prostrating and [making] offerings. Then I awoke.

It happened like that, and as for my thoughts about it: "The one going in front of me [was] Zla ba'i 'od zer can; the one who came behind [me was] Tra ba'i 'od zer can. As for eradicating the trees blocking the path ahead, [and] being cleared, the path was well-maintained: [this was] the mind becoming doubtful, and cutting the root of doubt with the sword of wisdom. Those fields which were there, [they were] disciples (*gdul bya*) who were connected [to me] by previous karma and prayers. As for the white-tailed thing that was offered, they were good thoughts and a bit of fame coming to me. As for the people of that town making their respects (*phun sum tshogs pa byas*) to me, such as venerating, etc., should be understood as your having disciples and enlightened activity, etc." Furthermore, making examples of things like profitable and wrong deeds, such as accomplishing the commands of the guru or not – as in the biographies of the eighty Indian mahāsiddhas; moreover, repeatedly giving advice and the history of terrible things

[in] the lama's country. The words [and] speech (*brda don*) of the Mañjuśrī-guru [are like] the moon diffusing a cool light of wisdom [and] mercy to the ten directions. Because of that, the wisdom of disciples, [like a] water lily, blooms completely, and the ten directions appear because of the good [coming] from his [enlightened] activity. The secret biography, provisionally written out (*yi ger bkod*) by Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvāmi, is completed. *Katham iti. Śubham.*

APPENDIX II.II

DIPLOMATIC EDITION

OF

THE ARCANE BIOGRAPHY OF MAHĀPAṆḌITA ŚĀRIPUTRA

DURING HIS RESIDENCE IN THE HOLY LAND

[1a]//paN chen sha ri pu tra 'phag yul du bzhugs dus kyi gsangs pa'i rnam thar gzhugs lags//

[1b1]@@/___/na mo gu ru bhye la ya/_

dam chos zab laM nor bus gstug na mdzes/_

/gsang bsngags sbrul mgo'i gdengs kas rab brjid pa'i/_

/paN [1b2]chen klu dbang zhabs la gus btud nas/_

/gsang chos be dur rgya rnaMs bri par bya/_

/chos rje 'di nyid gung lo brgyad pa'i dus su:_'khor rnaMs dang lhan cig tu rtsa

[1b3]zhing rol pa'i tshe:_seMn sbrul gyi yan lag yongs su rdzogs par mthong gsung ngo:_de'i tshe bdag gis bla ma la 'di lta bu 'thong ba:_dge ba'i mtshan ma dang ldan pa [1b4]lags sam:_mi dge ba'i ltas lags zhus pas:_de lta bu ni:_u duM wa ra'i me tog dang chos 'tshungs te:_rgya laM na res 'ga' 'byung ba yin gyi dus thaMd du [1b5]'byung ba ma yin pa lta du:_de mthong ba dang yang dge ba'i mtshan ma dang ldan pa yin zhes bla ma gsung ces gsung:_'o na yan lag gi rnaM pa ji ltar du gdal [1b6]lags zhus pas:_phyogs g.yas g.yon 2 ka nas yan [lag] gi 'tshan ma[α′] du mas spras te:_zos chun gyi khyad mo 'pho ba ltar:_snga phyi go rim ma 'tshal [1b7]lar[β′] 'gro ba 'dug gsung:_der ma zad:_dus re shigi tshe:_nged kyi slab pa'i gnas lnga blangs pa'i dgain[γ′] gyi blang bya legs par nod nas:_grogs tshe dang ldan pa

[2a1]@/__/'ga' dang 'grogs te:_nags khrod dben pa:_laM gyaM sas:_g.yon rtsa dang:_lo ma dang:_'bras bu phun suM tshogs pas bkrigs[δ′] pa:_dbus na laM gyi [2a2]'tshon[ε′] pa drang po 'dug pa de'i phyogs su nyul du phyin pas:_der laM gyi skedr:_rlung sbrul gyi rgyal po sna re la 'go [ς′]re yod pa:_kha dog sna lnga pas:_rim gyis 'tshar [2a3]du

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α′. Read: *mtshan ma.*

β′. *yar*?

γ′. Read: *dge snyan.*

δ′. Read: *dkrigs*?

ε′. Read: *mtshon*?

ς′. Read: *mgo*?

mngar bar[α′] spras pa:_zas ni ltos[β′] 'gro'i rigs can gyis sbyor zhing:_gal te ma sbyar na de'i rigs can zas su za bar 'gyur la:_zos nas kyang de'i srog gi [2a4]dbang ngo ma 'gags par:_kha 1 nas zos nas kha 1 nas phyung ste gtong ba dug.sung:_seMn de sbrul rnaMs gyis[γ′] rgyal yin pas:_de su'i mthong ba'i mi des:_klu'i [2a5]rigs rnaMs dbang du bsdud[δ′] par 'gyur ba yin:_mdor na bzhon[ε′] nu chung chung gi dus su ya 'tshan[ς′] can mthong na[ζ′] de phyis nar son pa'i dus su yang mi rjed par 'dug [2a6]gsung:_dgung lo bcugi pa'i dus su 'khor bzhon[η′] nu'i tshoT du ma dang bcas nas:_ljong rgyu ba la nags khrod shing du nyaMs dga' ba:_tsa dang:_lo ma dang:_shing gel [2a7]ba logs[θ′] pa du mas spras pa 1 yod pa der rol rtsad la byon te:_slar byon pa'i laM na:_dud khrod[ι′] chen po 'jigsu rung pa 1 na:_khyi nag po gzi brjid phun suM [2b1]tshog pa mig 'bras byi la'i mig ltar 'od zer grag tu 'phro ba 1 mthong:__sang snga mor bla ma'i drung du:__sngar gri lo rgyus zhus pas khyod la 'jigs pa'i snang ba skyes saM [2b2]ma skyes gsungs:__der bdag gis 'jigs pa'i mtshan ma ma byung lags zhus pas:__de lta na

α′. Variant of *tshar du mngar bar.*

β′. Read *lto.* Thus, *ltos 'gro = lto 'gro = snake.*

γ′. Read: *gi*?

δ′. Read: *bsdus.*

ε′. Read: *gzhon.*

ς′. Read: *ya mtshan.*

ζ′. Read: *ba.*

η′. Read: *gzhon*?

θ′. = *la sogs.*

ι′. Read: *dur khrod.*

shin du legs kyis;__khyod la phyin chad dpal 'gon[(α′)] bsrung ma[1] rnaMs kyis grogs [2b3]dang:__dsung gnyen byed cing:__lus dang grib ma bzhin du phyi bzhin 'brangs nas dngos grub ster zhing:__mi mthun phyogs phyir bskrad pa 1 yong ba'i brda yin gsung pa la sogs [2b4]pa:__ngo mtshar ba'i ltas gzhal gyi mi lang ba[(β′)] du ma yod na'ng:__re shig sa 'og gi gter gzhin[(γ′)] gbar[(δ′)] bya'o:__lo bcu bzhi pa'i dus su nan gtan[(ε′)] la brtson [2b5]par byed pa'i yod pa'i skabs zhig na;__ngas mi sha gtsos pa'i khu rtsigs thams cad zos pa rmi nas bla ma la zhus pas;__rje'i zhal nas khyed rkang gnyis pa tham cad [2b6]gyis bkur ba 1 yong ba yin gsung:__bag chags med par sha zos pa rmi na:__dngos grub 'byung ba'i rtag[(ς′)] yin pa 'dra gsung:__lo tsha bas gan ngo mtshar ba'i [2b7]bltas ji 'dra byung lags zhes zhus pas:__byung tshar dris nas ci byed:__snag shog phangs zhing:__rnaM rtag gi spun 'gro ba las med gsungs nas:__de res gnang du ma

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1. *rakṣā.* Might this indicate a native Sanskrit speaker, who gives the feminine form when dictating or writing in Tibetan? A native Tibetan speaker would probably just say *bsrung ba* for *rakṣa,* as is attested in most Buddhist literature in Tibetan -- even that translated from Sanskrit (cf. Negi 7491). However, the deities who fill the role of guides in this narrative are usually women, except for the white[-clad] boy.

α′. Read: *dpal mgon = śrīnātha.*

β′. Read: *gzhal gyis mi lang ba.*

γ′. Read: *bzhin.*

δ′. Read: *gnas bar* = putting them (in the ground)? *sbas* = to hide?

ε′. Variant of: *nan tan.*

ς′. Read: *rtags.*

[3a1]@//____/'dod:__dus phyis bskor gsung sgros 'dra gsags[(α′)] pa la:__sngon gyi smon laM dang:__'brel pa cung zhig yod pa la brten nas:__mi mjed[(β′)] gyi dbus;__'dzaM bu gling gi lte ba:__dus gsuM sangs rgyas [3a2]thams cad 'byon pa'i gnas:__rkang gnyis 'dren[(γ′)] mchog thub pa mngon par sangs rgyas pa'i zhing khams dam pa der:__ci la yang ma chags par 'gro dgos snyam pa'i blo rtse 1 du yod pa'i dus su:__nged [3a3]kyi dgon pa der dar 'phyar ba'i shing/__lo 'ga' yar na:__spo dgos kyin yod pas:__da lan 'di la rten 'brel gyi rtags chen po yod pas:__khyod gyi mgos[(δ′)] byas rnams kyis lho phyogs [3a4]rnams nas shing chod shog gsung nas:__nged nyis stong tsaM gyis phyogs derphyin shing drang po 'doM brgya bcu tsaM yod pa 1 bcad nus[(ε′)] yongs te dgon par btsugs so:__der bdag rdo rje gdan du 'gro bar zhu [3a5]zhus pas:__nga'i dgon pa 'di stong par 'gro ba 'dug ste:__khyed mdo' 'ga'[(ϛ′)] yar nas lung bstan nas:__rgya mtshor skyes sha ri zhes bya ba'i skyes bus rdo rje gdan du sang rgyas gyi brtan pa la:__dgra sog [3a6]po du tu ka zhes bya ba spongs nas:__de'i rgyal po he rum kha zhes bya

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α′. Read: *bsags.*

β′. Read: *mi mdzed.*

γ′. Poss: *'tren.*

δ′. Poss: *mogs.*

ε′. Poss: *bus.*

ϛ′. It may be that this should be read *mda' 'ga'* (a few arrows), or that the scribe originally thought to write a contracted (*skung yig*) form of *mdo 'ga'* = *mdo'*, then decided to write out *'ga'* in full. Compare the similar passage in 3b2 (*lung bstan mdo 'ga' na*). The latter phrase is stated to give authority to the former prophecy, and therefore it is unlikely that both should be read *mdo 'ga',* as this would be redundant. In this light, *mda' 'ga'* makes more sense.

bas:__rdo rje gdan gyi gan rdo la'i phyed yan chod bshig cing;__lcag ri dang mchod brten la sogs pa yang bshig par [3a7]'gyur la:__byang chub kyi shing yang gcod par 'gyur:__de'i tshe:__sangs rgyas mkha' 'gro'i sprul pa rigs ni zla ba'i rigs u cha zhes bya bas;__yon bdag mo byed cing:__rigs bram ze'i rgyal [3b1]rigs sha ri zhes bya ba'i dge slong gis:__zhig gsos[(α′)] gyi kha ta byas nas bso' bar 'gyur ro:__byang chub kyi shing yang yongs su rdzogs skye bar 'gyur ro:__sangs rgyas kyi brtan pa yang dar rgyas su 'gyur ro:__[3b2]ces pa'i lung bstan mod[(β′)] 'ga' na 'dug pa dang mthun pa 'dug cing:__gzhan yang rtags mang rab 'dug pas:__rdo rje gdan du song la sangs rgyas gyi brtan pa[(γ′)] dang:__sems can la phan pa'i bya [3b3]ba gyis cig ces gsung ngo // ________________//

[4a1]@//____na mo gu ru we la ya//__paN+Dita chen po shri sha ri pu tra ma ha swa mi de//__bod khaMs su byon pa'i //__gsang pa'i rnam thar zur tsaM bri bar bya/ /__gsang brag phug tu:__zla ba lnga pa'i [4a2]tshe bcu bdun la phebs nas/__zhag bdun song pa'i dus su:__chos rje nyid ting nge 'dzin la bzhugs dus:__nyam snang lta bu la:__skye bu mtshan ldan gos dkar po gyon pa 1 byung nas:__des bye du'i[(δ′)] [4a3]phreng ba brgya rtsa 1 lag tu gtad nas khyod kyis 'di la snying po bsgrongs 1 gsung:__yang skyes bu dkar po 1 na re khyod kyis dkyil 'khor gyi bya ba la brtson

α′. Read: *zhig gso.*

β′. Poss: *mdo.*

γ′. Read: *bstan pa.*

δ′. Poss: *ru'i.*

par gyis zer ba dang:__der ngas me tog [4a4]btus nas sgrub mchod byed pa yin byas pa dang:__yang khong na re khyod kyi da lta gyis 1:__nga ltad mo bya ba yin zer ba dang:__'o na khyed rang gzigs 1:__ngas kyil 'khor gyi bya ba da lta bgyi'o:__[4a5]byas te:__mchod pa 'bul gyin 'dug pas:__g.yas kyi de dag g.yon du 'jog:__g.yon gyi de dag g.yas su 'jog:__mdun gyi de rgyab du 'jog:__rgyab gyi de mdun du 'jog:__thams cad [4a6]shul rjes nas 'jog gin 'jug go/__der khyer rang gzigs 1 byas nas:__de ltar dkyil 'khor gyi bya ba yang yang byas nas gzigs pa phul bas:__der skyes bu de'i gsung nas:__legs [4a7]so 'di ltar gyis 1 gsung nas:__de ltar ngas rmi laM du dkyil 'khor gyi nang du lha thams cad bzhengs:__mchod pa lnga 'bul:__phyag dang bstod pa:__bsgrub mchod las sogs pa rnams legs par byed kyi [4a8]'dug go/__yang de las sad par gyur to:__de nas zla ba 1 song dus nub 1 gi rmi laM na:__nga'i tsa ba'i bla ma khri chen po'i steng na zhal shar la gzigs nas bzhugs pa'i sku mdun na nga yang [4b1]'dug:__gzhan yang rgyal mo 1 dang:__rgyal po'i sras khye 'u lo brgyad lon pa 1 'dug go/__der bla ma'i gsung nas:__khye'u 'di la dbang bskur bas zhus 1 gsung ngo //__yang bla ma'i [4b2]zhal nas:__rgyal mo de la dbang bskur ba la gser gyi ral gri mtshan dang ldan pa 1 dgos pa khyod la yod dam gsung ngo //__der rgyal mo de na re:__bdag gi[α′] ral gri khyer ma yongs lags zer [4b3]bas:__bla ma'i zhal nas:__bdag la:__nga'i nye nas kyi lag nas lde mig lo la mdzod nas mi la dbang bskor ba'i ral gri mtshan dang ldan pa 1 yod pa khyod kyis long shog gsung pa dang:__der [4b4]nga'i mdzod nas ral gri blangs yongs pas:__der khye'u de la dbang bskur bas bsnying po

α′. Read: gis?

ma shes pas:__ma de[(α′)] na re:__byis pa chung ngur song pas bsnying po mi shes par 'dug:__dbang bskur mbu chung[(β′)] la dgos [4b5]phyir zhus pa ma yin:__khyod la dgos pa'i phyir zhus pa yin pas:__khyod 'dir shog la zhus gsungs nas:__ral gri mgo bo shel la byas pa/__yu ba glang po che'i mche ba la byas pa:__mdog [4b6]nam mkha' lta bu:__dpung pa gnyis gser las byas pa:__sor bzhi tsam du gser dang rin po'i 'spra[(γ′)] sna tshogs yod pa 1 gis dbang bskur zhing/__ral gri de yang khyod la dgos pas khyer gsung nas snang[(δ′)] ngo:__[4b7]snying po 'di yang khyod kyis zung la bzlob[(ε′)] shig/ __khyod kyis don chen po 'grub par 'gyur ro gsung nas:__snying po 'di gnang ngo //__pu n+ye[(ς′)] na yen tAn nu bhawa ni dhi niwa saM yA: wa nir bha na lA bhA:__de ltar snying

[5a1]@/__/po 'di zhal nas lan gsum bzlas nas gnang ngo //__ral gri 'di yang lag tu gtad de:__der ngas ral gri de khyer nas byang phyogs su phyin pa dang:__de na grong khyer chen po 1 'dug ste:__khang [5a2]pa dmar po:__ser po:__sngon po:__ljang[(ζ′)] khu:__dkar po dang lnga 'dug go:__lha khang yang mang po 'dug go:__grong khyer

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α′. Poss: *me da.*

β′. Poss: *ba bu chung.*

γ′. Read: *spra* "ornamented."

δ′. Read: *gnang*?

ε′. Poss: *bzlos* converted to *bzlob.*

ς′. Poss: *rn+ye.*

ζ′. Poss: *rdzang khu.*

de'i dpon 1 'dug pa de'i nang du ngas phyin pa dang:__de'i nang na chos po ti mang po 'dug:__mi [5a3]yang mang po 'dug go/__de'i bar khang na dpon mo de rgyan sna tshogs kyis brgyan cing:__lang mtsho dar la bab pa 1 'dug go:__de dang thag nye bar phyin nas:__mi 1 la 'di su yin ces dris pas [5a4]de na re khyod kyis mi shes saM zer:__ngas mi shes pas dri ba yin mod byas pas:__mi des shugs byas nas:__'di khyer rang gi bla ma'i phyag rgya mo yin no zer ro//__der ngas ci zer:__nga'i bla mas 'dul [5a5]ba yang dag par mkhyen:__tshul khrims rnam dag bsrungs pa la:__phyag brgya mo[(α′)] ga na 'ong byas pas:__yang shug[(β′)] byas nas:__'di khyed rang gis ma shes pa yin mod:__'di ni gsang pa'i yum [5a6]yin mod zer ro//__de ngas thos nas bud med de'i rtsa ru phyin pa dang:__de nas gang nas byon bzhugs 1 zer ro//__der ngas:__bla ma'i drung nas 'ongs byas pas:__khyod gyi bla ma sku khaMs bzang po yod [5a7]dam zer ba dang:__sku khaMs bzang po yod ral gri 'di yang bla mas nga la byin pa yin byas nas mo la bstan pa dang:__khyod kyi bla ma'i ral gri 'di thob na nan tar[(γ′)] bzang po yin legs so leg so [5b1]zer ro//__de nas yang rmi laM de las sad pa dang:__nga'i bsaM pa la/__bla ma ni mgon po 'jaM dbyangs su 'dug:__yuM de ni u pa skye se ne[2] yin par 'dug bsam pa byung ngo //__bod skad du nye ba'i [5b2]sgra gcan ma'o//__yang ngas mnyam par bzhag dus rmi laM lta bu/__rje btsun ma sgrol ma

2. Upaśekinī: Often arising from the "ṇa" of the Arapacaṇa mantra.

α′. Read: *phyag rgya mo*.

β′. Read: *shugs*. See previous line: *shugs byas*.

γ′. Poss: *non tar*.

sku mdog dud[α′] kha zhal 1 phyag gnyis ma:__g.yas pas sdig 'dzub bskor gyi brda mdzad pa:__g.yon [5b3]thugs khar khu tshur mdzad pa 1 byon nas:__brda dang snying po 'di gnang ngo //__

na ma: a r+ya ta rA ye:__

dad ldan thos pa sdoM brtson snying rus can//__

tshe 'dir bde zhing phyi mi don grub pa'i/__

/rang nyid [5b4]dben par phyin nas bstan[β′] bde la/__

/'dug la byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed dang /__

/bla ma dkon mchog guM la skyabs song ste/__

/stong nyid ngang las pad zla'i[γ′] gdan stengs su/__

/zhabs gnyis [5b5]rdo rje dkyil dkrungs 'gying bka[δ′] can/__

/sku mdog dud[ε′] kha zhal 1 phyag gnyis ma/__

/g.yas pas sdig 'dzub bskor cing brda ni mdzad/__

/chos nyid ma lus brda ru bston pa'i rtags/__

α′. Poss: *ngud.*

β′. Read: *gtan.*

γ′. *pad+ma'i zla ba.*

δ′. Read: *bka'*?

ε′. Poss: *ngud.*

/g.yon [5b6]pa thugs khar khu tshur phyag rgya mdzad/__

/shes bya ma lus thugs chud pa'i rtags/__

/dbu rgyan snyan cha gdu gu rin chen ldan/__

/lha'i na bzas lhab lhub bdzes pa'i sku/__

/dbu skra rgyab cings [5b7]lan bu thur la 'phyangs/__

/lang tsho dar bab bcu drug lon pa'i tshul/__

/zla ba'i zhal rgyas ud dpal spyan skyus ring /__

/yid 'ong gzugs mdzes snyan pa'i gsung bsnyan can/__

/de'i zhal nas

6a1@/__/gsungs pa'i gzungs ngags 'di//__

oM tA re gho tra rak+She tu re swA hA/__

/lha mo khyod ni yid la dran pas na/__

/dpag bsaM shing dang yid bzhin nor bu ltar/__

/gsol ba btab na dgos 'dod [6a2]rtsol mdzad ma/__

/mchog dang thuoMng[α′] dngos grub rtsol mdzad ma/__

α′. = *thun mong.*

/'gro ba kun la bu bzhin brtse mdzad ma/__

/sangs rgyas thob pa'i shes bya kun rdzogs mdzod/__

/'di brtsams dge bas shes bya [6a3]kun mkhyen shog/__

/rdo rje gdan pa shri sha ri pu tra ma hA swo mis/__bya rgod phung po dang 'tshungs[(α′)] pa'i ri:__gnas 'chings phu gsang pa'i brag phug tu:__mtshan 1 ki rmi laM du/__rje btsun [6a4]ma sgrol mas brtags dang spyod lam sna tshogs bstan cing // __mthong thos dran reg gi don ldan gyi gsung sngags gnang pa 'dis:__'gro ba mang po la phan thogs par gyur 1:__[6a5]rgyal po 'di khob[(β′)] dang tshul mtshungs pa'i pyang[(γ′)] shar:__bya rgod phung po'i ri dang mtshungs pa'i lho 'debs:__'chings phu dge 'u gsang pa'i[(δ′)] brag phug tu:__rdo rje gdan pa shri shA ri pu tra ma hA [6a6]swo mis mi rtag pa dang:__bdag med pa dang:__thams cad snying po med par gzigs nas:__rtse 1 tu bsgrub pa bzhugs pa'i dus su:__lug lo[3] zla ba bzhi pa'i tshe bzh'i nam smad:__chos rje [6a7]paN+Da chen pa:__spros pa thams cad bral ba'i ting nge 'dzin la bsnyoM par bzhugs pa'i dus su:__skyes bu dkar po 1 na re:__'jig brten pa[(ε′)] thams

3. 1403 or 1415 (*shing mo lug*).

α′. Read: *mtshungs* = like.

β′. Poss: *khab*.

γ′. Read: *byang*.

δ′. Poss: *dge lugs pa'i*.

ε′. Read: *'jig rten pa*.

cad zer ba la:__rdo rje gdan dang:__shrI $_{na}$ len dra:__ma hA [6b1]bhO dhi zer ba yang:__rang re'i lus kyi nang na yod pa yin mod/__zer nas skyes bu de ting nge 'dzin kyi ngang nas labs nas mi snang bar gyur to//__de'i 'tshaMs su/__rang re'i lo tsa+tsha pa 1 yod [6b2]pa de sgo nas yar la snyeng byas nas:__lag pa gnyis kyis yos[(α′)] sko brten te:__dge sbyong 1 na re:__nam mkha' nam mkha' zer ba de la spros pa yod pa 'dra zer ro:__de thams cad spros pa dang [6b3]bral ba yin te:__de ma shes pas lan pa yin mod gsungs so//__yang ting nge 'dzin de las ma g.yos bzhin du:__bcom ldan 'das sku mdog mdzam bu chu'o'i gser dang [6b4]mtshungs pa:__sku la skyes bu chen po'i mtshan sum bcu rtsa gnyis dang/__dpe byang bzang po brgya bcus bspras pa:__dbu'i gtsug tor ltar mi mngon pa//__na bza' chos gos gslo[(β′)] [6b5]ba:__sku la nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi 'phro bdu byed pa 1:__rang gi 'dun gyi nam mkha' la mthong ngo // __da dung ting nge 'dzin de las nga ma sad do//__[x][(γ′)] nga'i g.yas phyogs su 'dzaM bha la sku mdog [6b6]ser po:__phyag na ne lu le bsnaMs pa:__sku che zhing brjid pa:__mig dang bsus pa che ba:__g.yon du rje btsun ma sgrol ma sku mdog lta bu:__rin po che'i rgyan sna tshogs kyi[(δ′)] rgyan pa:__[6b7]phyag g.yas pa sa non[(ε′)] spus

α′. Poss: *pos*.

β′. Read: *gsol*.

γ′. The first syllable is obscure, poss: *yang*.

δ′. Read: *kyis*.

ε′. i.e. *sa gnon*.

mo'i[(α′)] steng du 'theb 'dzub gnyis phrad pa:__g.yon pa [du dpung pa'i][(β′)] steng nas ud dpal la sngon po 'theb 'dzub kyis 'dzin pa 1 byon//__'dzin pa rnaMs[4] la

[7a1]@//__:__/bcom ldan 'das ma la phyag 'tshal ba dang:__bskor ba byed dgos bsaM pa 1 byung:__de nas yid kyis bcom ldan 'das ma khyod kyis seMs can thams cad mkhor ba sdug bsngal [7a2]gyi rgya mtsho chen po las bsgral du gsol:__bdag gi[(γ′)] yang ji ltar bsaMs pa bzhin grub par mdzad du gsol zhes gsol ba btab pa de'i ngang las/__ting nge 'dzin de las sad [7a3]de bcom ldan 'das ma la gsol ba 'debs pa dang:__gzhan yang de bzhin gshegs pa rnams la thugs dam bskul ba'i gsol ba tab nas:__[de'i ngang las:][(δ′)]__yang mnyam [7a4]pa nyid la gnas so//____//rgya gar skad du/__gu y+ha na sa ma ya mu dra kathA//__bod skad du:__gsang ba dam tshig gi phyag rgya'i 'grel pa:__dpal 'khor lo sdom pa[5] la phyag 'tshal [7a5]lo//__chos kyi rje pan dri ta chen pos:__lug gi lo zla ba bcu gnyi pa'i tshes dgu nas bcu gsum gyi bar du//__skyes bu dam pa bla ma dpal mdzes pa bde bar gshegs pa la [7a6]dgongs pa 'am:__gzhan yang seMs can thams cad gyis[(ε′)] don du bcom ldan 'das 'khor lo bsdom pa'i lha tshogs la

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4. Reference to *sgrol ma*?
5. Śrī Cakrasaṃvara (with trident).

α′. Read: *pus mo'i.*

β′. The section in brackets is unclear.

γ′. Read: gis.

δ′. The section in brackets has dots above, indicating possible deletion.

ε′. Read: *gyi.*

dngos dang yid kyi sprul pa'i phyi nang gsum[α′] gsum gyi mchod pa phul nas/ /__rtse 1 tu [7a7]gsol ba bdab pas:__tshes bcu gnyis kyi na phyed[β′] kyi dus su rmi lam lta bu'i mthong snang la ci ltar byung na:__skyes pa dang bud med kyi cha byad gnyis byung ste//__skyes pa'i cha byad ni [7b1]mdog mthing kha:__dbu skra 'dug cing bstod khebs pa:__rgyan sna tshogs kyis brgyan pa che chung mi lta bu'o//__de dang thag mi ring bar lhan du:__bud med gzugs dang mang mtsho dar ba [7b2]la bab pa:__dbu skra sil bu thur du 'phyang ba 1 bdag dang gsum 'dug go/__de'i tshe skyes pa des bdag la 'di skad ces smras te:__khyod kyi mis mi mthong ba'i dngos po zhig nya ra[γ′] byed shes saM:__zer ro:__bdag gis de ltar shes so byas pas:__ji ltar nya ra byed ces dris pas:__de'i lan 'di skad smras so//__ras la sogs pa$_{s}$['i snod 'di rnams su btum na:__gzhan gyi da rung][δ′] btum [7b4]nas bcings/__/rgyas btab nas gnyer byed pa'i lugs yod byas:__yang skyes bu des 'di ltar smras so//__ras la sogs pa'i snod 'di rnams su btum na:__gzhan gyi da rung mthong bar [7b5]'gyur ba'ang yod do//__slar smras pa gzhan gyis mi mthong ba'i gnyer bgyi lugs ji ltar byed zhus pas:__yang kho na re gzhan gyi[ε′] mi mthong ba ni ngas shes so//__khyod la dngos po yod dam [7b6]zer bas:__nga la dngos po 'di yod byas te:__du ma gyi zlum zlum chag po gang kho gi lag tu gtad do//__de khong gi phyag du blangs te:__der khong na re:__gzhan

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α′. Read: *gsang*.

β′. Read: *nam phyed*.

γ′. (*sa bon*) n*ya ra* = *bdag gnyer*.

δ′. section in brackets have dots above, indicating possible deletion

ε′. Read: *gyis*.

gang du yang mi sbed:__khyod [7b7]khyod rang gi lus kyi nang du sbas la[α′] bzhag gis zer nas der bdag gi mgrin pa phyag gnyis kyis kha phye nas//__snying khar bzhag ste phyag dang ma bral bar lte bar sbas so//

[8a1]@//__:__/der khong la ngas mi thams cad na re:__a zer ba'i yig ge de gang du sems pa yin dris pas:__skyes bu de na re:__a zer ba'i yig ge lte bar sems par bya'o//__zer ba dang de'i [8a2]ngang las sad do//__der nga'i bsaM pa la 'di ltar byung ste:__skyes pa de he ru kar 'dug:__bud med de bcom ldan 'das mar 'dug bsaM pa 1 byung ngo //__rang gi nang du sbas pa'i dngos po de ni 'khor lo gsuM [8a3]gyi bdud pa 'grol zhing chos kyi bcud cung zad thob pa'i brdar[β′] go/__a lte bar gnas zer ba de a li ka li la sogs bsngags kyi 'khor lo bskor ba 'aM:__gzhan yang a [8a4]ces pa gong na med[γ′] pa'i skye med kyi brdar go/__der ngas bcom ldan 'das ma la dngos su 'byor pa dang yid kyis sprul pa'i mchod pa phul lo//__dad ldan skyes bu dam pa'i don du ni/__

/[8a5]'dren pa mdzas phyir dpal ldan bla ma yis/__

/'khor lo sdom sogs bla med dgongs pa mdzad/__

/yid dam lha yis bla med dgongs pa bstan/__

α′. Poss: *laM*.

β′. Poss: *brtar*.

γ′. It appears that *mod* was changed to *med*.

/'khor lo gsum sogs [8a6]sngags dang bla med don/__

/ma sgrib gsal bar so sor bstan mdzad nas/__

/sdug bsngal che dang 'jig ldan gsum la bsgral/__

/brda yis bla med $_{d}$on ston mdzad la 'dud/__

/[8a7]gzhon nu[α'] rab byung blo gsal yid gzhungs pas/__

/dad ldan thos pa'i don la ma rmongs shing /__

/sbyin dang tshul khrims bla ma'i bka' la sogs/__

/nyaMs su len pa'i don grags [8b1]zhes bya dang /__

/bsam bstan ting mi g.yo nam blo dang /__

/bla ma'i bka' bzhin bsgrub pa'i dza+nya na shris/__

/gus pas phyag phul btud nas legs zhus pas/__

/bla med [8b2]rgyud kyi dgongs pa 'di gnang ngo /__

/de phyir skal dman rnams la gsangs par bya/__

/dam tshig yin no snying khrag 'dral bar chongs/__

/ces pa mnga' ris lo ts+tsha ba dz+nya na sh+ris:__paN chen [8b3]bka' bzhin bsgyur ba'o//__de nas yang 'phrang kha de nyid du bzhugs dus su:__shing po spre 'u[6]'i nyi

6. wood-male-monkey year.

α'. Read: *gzhon nu*.

sgrel phyed[α′] kyi lo zla ba bzhi pa'i nyer lnga'i nub mo:__stang[β′] lung pa'i bla ma brtson 'grus [8b4]legs pas:__lo ts+tsha ba rgyud nas nan cher yid dam la gsol ba 'debs par zhus:__bsaM gyi mi khyab pa'i mkhyen rabs dang:__dmigs pa med pa'i [8b5]thugs rje chen po mnga' ba:__paN chen rin po che'i zhal nas 'di ltar gsungs:__mgon po 'jaM pa'i dbyangs kyi dkyil 'khor gyi lha tshigs la rtse 1 tu gsol ba btab [8b6]pas:__nged gsum 'dug pa[γ′] rmi te:__ji ltar na:__sngon la 'gro ba de skyes bu dkar po ral gri dang gsor mdung thogs pa phyi nas 'gro ba de yang ral gri dang mdung thogs pa/ /__gnyis [8b7]ka'ng skyes bu dar la bab cing mtshan dang ldan pa:__de gnyis kyi bar na nga rang yang ral gri dang mdung thogs nas:__rlung lha'i 'tshams su[δ′] kha ltas nas 'gro yin 'dug go/__der phyin pa

[9a1]@//____/dang:__de'i laM thams cad na shing gi tshum ma khrig gtams nas 'gro ba mi 'dug/__der ngas:__laM 'di tsher ma la sogs pas 'khribs don ci'i phyir yin dris so//__nga'i sngon [9a2]la 'gro ba'i skyes bu de na re:__sngar lam 'di bde[ε′] mo yod pa yin te:__da lta 'gag[ς′] 'dug zer ro:__der ngas laM 'di sol 1 byas nas:__sngon la 'gro ba'i skyes bu dkar po dang/__nga [9a3]rang gnyis kyis shing thams cad gris gcad cing

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α′. Read: *byed*? name of the particular wood-male-monkey year of 1404.

β′. Read: *stag*?

γ′. Poss: *sa*.

δ′. lit: *'tshamsu*.

ε′. Poss: *'ed, 'de, bed*.

ς′. Poss: *bgag*.

gtub nas bsal bas:__laM de la tsher ma la sogs pa gang yang med cing bde bar byas so//__lam de bsgral ba dang:__zhing mang po 'dug ste:__[9a4]zhing de dag la ljang pa ring po ni khru re tsam:__thung ba rnams mtho re tsam 'dug go/__de na ri cig 'dug ste:__ri de dang shar dang lho tho ba:__byang dang nub gzhol ba:__dbyibs ri rgyud shar [9a5]lho ring ba/__ri de'i phyed na grong khyer 'dug pa de:__de na nga'i ngo shes pa'i skyes bu 1 'dug pa de nga'i mdun du byung ste//__phyag rton[(α′)] du rnga ma dkar po lus tshad dang mnyam pa 1 phul [9a6]nas nga la phyag byas cing:__nga'i rjes nas 'ongs pa'i skyes bu de la'ng byin no/__de nas phar phyin pi[(β′)] sa na grong khyer gzhan 1 'dug pa der ngas sleb pa dang:__de na skye bo'i tshoT [9a7]mang po 'dug pa rnams kyis nga la phyag dang mchod pa la sogs pa'i bsnyen bkur ma du byas te:__de nas sad par gyur to//__de ltar byung ste nga'i bsaM pa la:__sngon la 'gro [9b1]ba zla ba'i 'od zer can:__rjes nas 'ongs pa de tra ba'i 'od zer can go:__sngar gyi laM 'gags shing phyis lam bsal nas bde ba de ni:__blo tha tshoM du gyur pa la shes rab [9b2]gyi ral gris the tshoM gyi rtsa ba bcad par go:__de na yod pa'i zhing de rnams sngon gyi las smon gyis 'grel pa'i gdul bya yod par go/__rnga ma dkar po phul ba de ni de [9b3]rnams bsam pa dkar zhing rang la snyan grags cung zad 'ongs par go/__grong khyer de'i skye bo rnams kyis nga la bsnyen bkur la sogs pa phun suM tshogs pa byas pa [9b4]de ni:__khyod la yang gdul bya dang phyin la sogs pa yod par go/__ces pa dang:__gzhan yang rgya gar gyi grub chen brgya bcu'i rnam thar bzhin bla ma'i bka' sgrubs ma [9b5]sgrubs la sogs pa'i phan yon nyes dmigs la sogs pa rnams dper mdzad

α′. Poss: *rten.*

β′. Read: pa'i.

gzhan yang bla ma yul gnyan pa'i lo rgyus dang:__gsung sgros la sogs pa nan cher gnang [9b6]ngo //__'jaM byangs bla ma'i brda don 'od dkar can/__/mkhyen rtse'i bsil zer phyogs bcur rab 'phros pas/__/gdul bya'i blaus ku mud rab rgyas shing /__/ 'phris[(α')] las [9b7]bzang pos phyogs bcu snang bar shog/__paN+Dita chen po sh+ri sha ri pu tra ma hA swo mis gsang pa'i rnam thar yi ger bkod pa re shig rdzogs so//__kha thaM a+thi//__shu b+haM//____//

[END]

α'. Read: *'phrin las.*

Appendix III.I

Translation

of

The Biography of Paṇḍita Śāriputra, Entitled "Rosary of Jewels,"

and

The Versified Biography of Lord Grags pa rin chen

[1A] The Biography of Paṇḍita Śāriputra, Entitled "Rosary of Jewels,"

PLEASE READ IT WELL AND GENERATE DEVOTION.

[1b] Homage to the guru!

The two *bodhi* attitudes[1] are not separate the Dharmakāya.

Taming appropriately, the embodiment [of] radiant light (*'od zer mnga' ba can*),

[Like] the Great Glacial Lake, maṇḍala [of] the qualities of knowledge [and] mercy,

[I] prostrate to that king of powerful sages (*thub dbang rgyal po*, Buddha).

In the present time, may the chief among the sons of the lion of men,

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[1] *byang chub sems gnyis*. This refers to a well-known distinction between the attitude which aspires to *bodhi* and the one established in it. It is found in a verse from the *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* 1:15: *byang chub sems de mdor bsdus na / rnam pa gnyis su shes bya ste / byang chub smon pa'i sems dang ni / byang chub 'jug pa nyid yin no //*, *bodhicittam dvividham vijñātvam samāsataḥ / bodhipraṇidhicittam ca bodhiprasthānameva ca.*

Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra, who leads the embodied onto the path of enlightenment
Possessing an activity sphere (*gocara*) [of] a limitless collection [of] good qualities,
Be victorious!

Now [the work] entitled "Rosary of Jewels," a clarification [of] a bit [of] the biography of Śrī Satguru Śāriputra, a *bodhisattva* who was completely perfected in a visible way, [who] displayed many emanations for the sake of sentient beings, and [whose] body – which emanated *sambhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya* [forms] and [manifested as] Indra and Brahma in the land of the gods, and in such a way [his] *nirmāṇakāya*, in [the form of] a practitioner who everywhere tames sentient beings of the six classes, worked for the benefit of sentient beings. Mahāpaṇḍita Śāriputra himself has three biographies. From the three – past, future, and present – in the first (i.e. in a past incarnation), [he] was born as one called "Māṇava-suvarṇa-nāsikā/prakāra-aṁśavān."[2] At the time of dwelling in the palace of Veśālī Buddha, who was completely perfected, having donated a four-inch (*sor*) stūpa of crystal, [his] mind produced the supreme actual beatitude, and [he] made many pure aspirations.

As for this incarnation itself, in a/the city of Siṅgala, [he] was born as the son of Brāhmaṇī Maricī (*nyi ma'i 'od chang can*). At Vajrāsana, he was ordained before the Abbot Śrī Prabhā (*dpal gyi 'od zer*), and also became perfect in the practice

[2] Bram ze'i khyi'u, "son of a Brahman; Brahman youth." Note that having a previous birth as a Brahman youth is typical of the Buddhas who have predictions, such as the Seven Buddhas. The latter are recounted in Nyang ral's *chos 'byung*. Cf. R.A. Stein, "Tibetica Antiqua IV," n. 29.

(*snyen= bsnyen*). He took the triad [of] listening, reflecting [and] meditating to [their] limits. In particular, he became the abbot of Vajrāsana for three years, spreading the teaching of the Buddha, and making [it] flourish. Also, he met with the Mahāsiddha Gulinada/natha, and at the time of requesting the instructions (*khrid*) of *Immortal Pure Prāṇa* (*rlung zang[?] mchi med*), he cam face-to-face with Bhagavan Hevajra. At that time, a woman – holding thirty-two bodies which were unattractive (*mi bsdug = mi sdug*) – [appeared] leaning on a stick. That woman said, "Paṇḍita, you [2a] go to the charnel ground of Sosaling, and [there] is an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, called Mitrayogin, who has acted as your guru for many lifetimes. He will bestow his grace upon you, and prophecy [your future Buddhahood; *lung bstod*]." Having said that, [she] vanished like a rainbow dissipating into the sky. Thence [I] went to the charnel ground of Sosaling, and met Lord Mitra himself. Atop a goral [skin?] (*khri snyan sa le*), on the root of a complete – branches, leaves, and smell – tree of sandalwood, [was] the Lord himself, possessed of a ruddy complexion on a white body. [He] wore (*gsol*) a cotton cloth on [his] body, and made the gesture of equanimity (*samāpati*) [with his] two hands. On [his] right, a tiger, and on the left a bear, he saw [the lama] sitting between the two [(? *gnyis kyi tshugs su 'dun pa dang 'jal*)]. Having offered a *gaṇacakra* and *maṇḍala*, [he] made this prayer: "Lord, be well! Due to the prophesy of a *jñānaḍākiṇī*, I came here. So, [I] request the ripening empowerment(s), liberating instructions, [and] teachings (*gdams*) of [attaining] the state of a *buddha* in one lifetime." Because of supplicating thus, the lord said: "I am a yogin who has attained immortality (*mchi med*), and dwelling here at the Sosaling charnel ground, [I] have seen the true faces of Mañjuśrī,

Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Amitayus, Tārā, [and] Yellow Jambhala. As for attaining their individual empowerments, *sadhanas*, generation [and] completion [stage practices], along with their guiding instructions: the instructions of Mañjughoṣa['s] body, "the *maṇḍala* which adorns the gnosis increasing wisdom"; the instructions of Avalokiteśvara['s] speech, "a feast of ambrosia, the condensed graduated path [to] beatitude"; the instructions of Vajrapāṇi['s] heart, "the effusing light-rays [which] defeat the demon army"; the instructions of Amitayus['s] qualities, "Attaining the Immortal Vajrakāya"; the instructions called "Tārā [who] spontaneously accomplished the actions (*'phrin las*) of protection [from] the eight fears [and] liberation [from] the trappings (*'phreng ba*) of *saṁsāra*"; the instructions of the Protector Jambhala called "Shower of *Siddhi*." The empowerments [for] these Six Instructions (*khrid drug po*) were uttered from the mouths of each of the empowering deities. Further, from the mouths of these deities, [2b] on the basis of the experiences derived from these instructions: furthermore, [it] is a teaching for a one-to-one lineage and [it will be] consecrated by us up to the seventh lineage." Having spoken, it was prophesied, "you yourself will acquire experience (*nyams su len*) and in the direction of Tibet, among the snowlanders, [worthy] vessels for these *samaya* will have faith in you, and to one who is well-trained in illusory body and dream [yogas][3], give completely these doctrines! From North to North [i.e. from Tibet to Mongolia] [these doctrines] will spread and expand." Thus was prophesied. Then, when [I] offered many prostrations of the guru, circumambulated [him] many

[3] This no doubt indicates Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen, who is stated in the *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* to have learned these yogas from Śāriputra, and whose biography follows this one.

times [and] received [his] feet on the crown [of my head], both the tiger and the bear transformed into *jñānaḍākinis*. Then [I], having offered many prayers, returned to Vajrāsana, and met the earlier *jñānaḍākini*. From her own mouth: "If you want to meet Mañjuśrī, go among the Tibetans, and at the [*piṭha*] site called Bsam yas 'Ching bu [= mchims bu], supplicate Ārya Mañjuśrī and [you] will meet [him] face-to-face." Having prophesied thus, that woman again disappeared. Then [I] went to Tibet, and met with Ārya 'O te. Having offered muslin cloth and a Haritaki (*a ru ra rnam rgyal*), because the Ārya accepted [them], [Śāriputra] obtained the everyone's favorable impression (*kun gyi mthun snang du grub*). And, people acquired unforgettable faith in the Mahāpaṇḍita. Then by evoking Mañjuśrī for a year at Bsam yas 'Ching phu, [I] saw him manifestly. "The meaning of the middle-way (*dbu ma'i don*) without any mistakes (*ma log*), will arise in your [mind] stream," [Mañjuśrī] said.

Then, [I] arrived in Gtsang. Sha ra'i dpon chen Kun dga' 'phags, having offered one hundred measures (*zho*) of gold, beseeched [him] to reside here. So, [he] undertook to stay for one year. While staying in Upper Nyang, [he] satisfied the desire for the *vinaya* and *Bka' dri gsum rgya pa*[4] and *Lnga bcu pa*[5] and *Me tog phreng*

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[4] *Triśatakārikāvyākhyāna*; Tib. *Kā ri ka sum brgya ba, Tshig le'ur byas pa sum brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa.*

[5] *Śramaṇapañcāśatkārikāpadābhismaraṇa*; Tib. *Dge tshul gyi tshig le'ur byas pa lnga bcu pa, Dge sbyong gi k'a ri k'a lnga bcu pa'i tshig gi brjed byang du byas pa.*

rgyud[6] and so forth in many *kalyāṇamitras*, such as the Gnas snying abbot, and Ngam rings[7] Bka' bcu ba, and Gzhung rgya smras ba Byang chub 'od zer and others.

In particular, on the day the *Kalyāṇamitra* Rnam sdings pa teachers [and] [3a] students requested the reading transmission of the *[Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṃgīti (['jam dpal] mtshan brjod)*, due to an earthquake and a rain of flowers, and so everyone said "This certainly is a magical (*sprul pa'i*) paṇḍita," and everyone became faithful. Then, the emperor (the Chinese *lta'i mi*[8]) heard (*gsan*) it said (*zer*): "An extraordinary Indian paṇḍita has come to Tibet." [He] sent three great ministers[9] as an invitation [party] (*gdan 'dren pa*).

From Gtsang, the invited one (*gdan drangs pa*) went to Lha sa. On the [very] night in which [he] reguilded the Lord Śākyamuni's face in gold and a full silver [butter lamp] (*Jo bo 'Shākya mu ni la zhal gser gsol ba dang dngul skong brtsugs pa*), [and he] circumambulated the Lord a hundred [times]. From the lord's lips: "Before *nirvāṇa* [i.e. after you die], you will be reborn in Tuṣita. Known as Grags pa mthas yas, all who meet with you will be reborn in the presence [of] *Kun mi pham* [= *Ajita/Maitreya*]." "[The lord] pronounced thus and many prophesies besides. In

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[6] *Vinayakārikā*; Tib. *'Dul ba me tog phreng rgyud.* These three texts continue to be popular in Tibetan monastic curricula. See Chapter Five for their place in the Tibetan canons.

[7] This is a country north of Ting ri.

[8] This may refer to the Yongle emperor, who is often referred to as *ta'i ming* in Tibetan. Cf. *Byang bdag rnam rgyal grags pa bzang gi rnam thar*, 41-3 [fol. 13a-b]. Cf. *Myang chos 'byung* (50), which states he was invited by "*rgya nag rgyal po ta zhin.*" *Ta zhin* is usually considered a Chinese loan word designating *da ren* 大人.

[9] *rta zhing.* This is probably a variation of *tā zhin* and *tā bzhin*, phoneticizations of the Chinese *da ren* 大人. See discussion in Chapter Six. Alternately, *rta zhing* may be a misspelling of *rta shing*, "chariot." In either case, it refers to Chinese emissaries.

particular, five colored light rays issued from the heart (*thugs ga*) of the lord, dissolving into my heart (*snying ka*). Thus, the fine *samādhi* of profound peace free from conceptual webs occurred," [he] said (*gsung*). Then, while residing in the garden [*'dung ra = ldum ra*] on top of Lha sa's [Tsug lag khang] courtyard, [he] met the Rgyal khams pa Kīrtiratna.[10] "Since [you] repeatedly request (*zhus zhus*) the profound and vast doctrines, saying you are one who has perfected (*'byongs po*) dream [yoga], show [me]!" (*shod gsung*). As I also hold [the doctrine of] dreaming, by having approached [him], [I looked at] how the one near me [i.e. Grags pa rin chen] rested in *samādhi*, and exhausted the designs of Vajrāsana. And, [I] exhorted three *śārira* as the teeth (*tshems*) of Ānanda (*kun dga' bo*). On the collar of some Indian/Chinese *nam za* clothing, there were a bunch of silken threads. Calling the attendants, the Dharmarāja pronounced: "According to the words of lord Mitrayogin, 'one who has crossed over (*thod rgal ba cig*), the yogin who is the [worthy] vessel of generation and completion of my six deities will arise from among the snowlanders [in] the Northern direction. As a mark of the very one [*de nyid*] who is the [worthy] vessel, there will be in [his] middle/navel, the mark of a *vajra*, and on [his] right thigh (*sla* [= *brla*] *g.yas*), a mark like the eye of a wrathful [deity]. Perfect the illusory body and dream [yogas] and some confidence will come [to] you. To that one, teach this doctrine as a one-to-one lineage, and until seven generations, the blessings by these deities will arise for all [? sha stag 'byung]. And having gone to the northern direction, [3b] [he] will make [this doctrine] spread and flourish.' That one prophesied is you." Having spoken, the essential instructions of

[10] This refers to Śāriputra's apparent main lineage holder Grags pa rin chen.

the six tutelary deities (*thugs dam lha drug*), together with [their] authorization (*rjes gnang*), and the authorization – together with the understanding (*rtogs*) – of the guardian deities [and] the wrathful protectors were evidenced in [his] heart (*thugs la rtags*). Further, [he] made many pith instructions [and] prophesies, and [Grags pa rin chen] requested that this testament be set down in writing (*yi ger 'bri ba*):

"Don't you set [this] down in writing, there will be someone (*gang zag*) who will put [this] in writing," [he] said. "But you! Avoid showing off your realization to others! If [you] cannot avoid [it], since [it] is a cause of pervasive obstacles, go to the wilderness to hide!" [He] said. "If you desire to meet with Lord Mitrayogin, [then] you make aspiration prayers and it is possible to meet [him]" [He] said.

When [we] went to send him off, [because he] was going to China (*rgya yul*), [we] requested that [he] hold [us] with compassion. "You, make aspiration prayers and we two will meet in Tuṣita," [he] said. And likewise, [he] made many authorizations (*rjes gnang*) and prophesies.

This, the biography of our guru, the Mahāpaṇḍita, called "Jeweled Rosary," is what he said himself, without having been edited again by others. At the supreme site of glorious Dags lha sgam po[11], [this] was prepared by Rgyal khams pa Grags pa rin chen. By the power of the virtue [of] writing this, may [we] accomplish the body, speech, and mind of the guru!

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[11] Possibly the Dwags la sgam po monastery or another site on the Dwags lha sgam po mountain in Dwags po, Gtsang. See G, Uray, "A Note on the Historical Geography of Ancient Tibet," in *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci Memoriae Dicata*, ed. E. Curaverunt, G. Gnoli, and L. Lanciotti, (Rome: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1988), 1503-10; also, A. Ferrari et al., trans., *Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, (Roma, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), 48, 121.

THE VERSIFIED (*TSHIG BCAD MA BZHUGS*) BIOGRAPHY OF LORD GRAGS PA RIN CHEN.

Homage to the guru!

The two collections, in the sky which is completely expansive,

The two knowledges, the sun (*nyin mo'i bdag*) of the greatly increasing maṇḍala

The two truths, emitting the empty light which is the play of Śrī

The two veils, falling before the lord of dharma, [who] clears the darkness [of the two obscurations]

To the master of Rtogs ldan Sangs rgyas dpal,

Who said, "Please make your biography!"

The abbreviated biography of the master:

Since this is [his speech], listen and remember!

Abandoning sin like the poison from the time of youth,

Striving towards virtue and especially revering the *siddhas*,

That is also my biography.

4a May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography (*brjes 'jug rnams kyi rnam thar don ni mdzod*)!

From the age of sixteen, entering the door of the *saddharma*,

Hoisting the saffron victory banner, the buddha's doctrine, to/on the mountain peaks,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

By the study of reality, the *samādhi* of non-meditation arises

Attaining [through] knowledge (*mkhas grub*), falling at the feet of gurus,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

From the age of twenty, gone to the direction of Dbus [and] Gtsang,

Imbibing the tastes (*bcud; rasa*) of many profound, expansive truths,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Freedoms [and] blessings [of a human life], difficult to obtain, having remembered this,

Abandoning laziness and awakening the essence of the leisure [&] blessings,

People who pierce the essence [of] impermanence [and] death

Relinquish the meaningless actions of this life

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

By being without the enticement [of] white [and] black karmic ripening,

Abandoning the ten non-virtues, accepting the ten virtues,

The gurus blessed Body [and] mind, and
Made many prophesies and authorizations (*rjes su snang* [= *gnang*] *ba*)
In order to benefit sentient beings,
Having taken on a supreme attitude, applying (*lhur len byas*) [myself to] accomplishment,
Even that {is my biography}.
May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Abandoning negligence, by entering into *samādhi*,
Born into the lineage [with] qualities of spiritual experience (*nyams*) and realization (*rtogs*)
By perfecting devotion to the gurus,
[I] entered into the lineage of masters, most soft blessings (*rab 'jam byin brlabs*)
Even that {is my biography}.
May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Perfecting ecumenicity, [taking] pure appearance as friends (*grogs la dag snang*),
Unencumbered by thoughts of the eight worldly dharmas,
Through generating measureless compassion for sentient beings
Taking as equal the rejecting [and] accepting of [the practice of] exchanging self [and] others
Even that {is my biography}.
May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Daily settled in the nature of *mahāmudra*,

At night, the clear light rises uninterrupted,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Having seen the *dharmakāya* as the illusory display [of] empty appearance,

Some signs of perfecting the illusory body [yoga] clearly arose,

By perfecting dream [yoga], the *buddhas* of the ten directions,

having gone to the Buddha-fields, [I] became very learned in the supreme vehicle,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

By going to teach the object [and] appearance [of] magical transformation,

With the supreme medicine, I eliminated the doubts [of] the people.

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

By realizing the meaning of the mind itself, which is unborn

There are no divisions between meditation and non-meditation for me]

Whatever virtuous basis [of] the triad body, speech, and mind

I dedicated in order for beings to attain buddhahood,

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Those who desire to hold the biography of the guru of the spoken lineage

Do like this, and certainly memorize [his] biography.

Thus, my biography is finished.

Even that {is my biography}.

May future disciples follow the meaning [of this] biography!

Having become utterly sated by these statements, [which are]

A boundless ocean of virtue

A continuously flowing stream [of] benefit to other beings and

Great waves of compassion, by [this] melodious sound [of] true *dharma*,

[may all beings] realize buddhahood!

[Thus] the actual utterances, which Rtogs ldan Sangs rgyas dpal requested in Gres sten chos 'phel steng.

[END]

APPENDIX III.II

DIPLOMATIC EDITION

OF

THE BIOGRAPHY OF PAṆḌITA ŚĀRIPUTRA, ENTITLED *ROSARY OF JEWELS*,

AND

THE VERSIFIED BIOGRAPHY OF LORD GRAGS PA RIN CHEN

[1a1]@//____pan tri ta shri pu tra'i rnam thar rin po che'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs+yo yang legs par gziT la gus pa skyed par zhu zhu//

[1b1]@//____na mo gu ru __

byang chub seMs gnyis dbyer med chos kyi sku:__

gang la ci 'dul 'od zer mnga' ba can:__

mkhyen rtse'i yon stan[α′] dkyil 'khor gangs chen mtsho:__

thub dbang rgyal po de la [1b2] phyag 'tshal lo:__

α′. Read: *yon ldan*?

mi'i seng 'ge de'i sras kyi btso:__

yon ldan dpag med tshoT pa'i spyod yul can:__

lus can byang chub lam la ldren mdzad pa:__

pan chen shri pu tra[1] deng 'dir rgyal gyur [1b3] gcig:__

'dir dpaldan bla ma daM pa paN chen shri pu tra'i rnam par thar pa cung zad bsal pa:__rin po che'i 'phreng ba zhes bya ba:__mngon gyi yang dag par rdzoT pa'i byub seMd'[α′] rnaMs kyis seMn gyi don la [1b4] sprul pa du ma bston[β′] cing :__longsku dang sprul pa'i sku dang :__lha'i yul du rgyin[γ′] dang tshangs pa dang :__de 4in[2] du riT drugi seMn gang la 'dul ba de'i snyen por[δ′]:__sprul pa'i skus seMn gyi don mdzado:__[1b5] pan chen shri pu tra 'di nyid kyi rnam thar la gsum:__'das ma 'ongs da star 3 las:__thog mar braM ze'i khyi'u gser gyi sna cha can[3] zhes bya bar 'khrungs

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1. In case there was any doubt that *shri pu tra* was a contraction for Śāriputra, note that *shri pu tra* does not fit the meter. There is a missing syllable, supplied by elongating *shri* to *sha ri.*

2. i.e. *bzhin.*

3. Māṇava-suvarṇa-nāsikā-aṁśavān; Brāhmaṇa[khyi'u]suvarṇaghrāṇāṃzaka?

α′. i.e. *byang chub sems dpa'.*

β′. Read: *bstan. Bston* would be a common error in rendering the present tense *ston* into the past tense.

γ′. i.e. *brgya byin.*

δ′. Read: *bsnyen por.*

te:__yang dag par rdzoT pa'i srgyas [1b6] yangs pa can[α′] kyi phrong[4] na bzhuT pa'i dusu:__shel gyi mtsog rten sor 4 pa 1 phul nas:__dngo byub[β′] mtshog du seMs[γ′] skyed cing :__smon laM rnaMr dag pa mang po btab:__sku skye ba 'di nying ni:__[1b7] sing ga la'i[5] grong khyer na braM ze mo nyi ma'i 'od chang[δ′] can[6] gyi srasu 'phrungs ste:__rdo rje gdan du mkhan po dpal $_{gyi}$ 'od zer gyi drung du rab du byung zhing snyen par[ε′] rdzoT par yang mdzad:__thos bsaM sgoM 3 [1b8] mthar phyin par mdzad:__khyad par du rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po lo gsum mdzade:__srgyas kyi bstan pa dar zhing rgyas par mdzado:__yang grub chen gu li na da[7] dang mjal zhing :__rlung zang mchi med[8] kyi khrid_[1b9] zhus pa'i dus:__bcom ldan 'das kyai rdo rje'i zhal 'jal:__de'i dusu:__bud med mi bsdug pa'i gzuT suM bcu rtsa 2 'chang ba des 'khar ba la brtens:__bud med de yis smras pa:__paN+Di ta khyod

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4. Read: *pho brang*?

5. Siṁhala.

6. Mother's name? If so, different from the sha ri pu tra'i rnam thar, which gives Bhadradevī, but perhaps closer to the father's name of Somanasvakara.

7. Unknown *siddha*. Poss: Golenātha.

8. This title is similar to the teachings he received from the *yogeśvara*s in the exoteric biography.

α′. Veśālī. Place name or name of buddha?

β′. Read: *ngos byang chub* [*dngos grub*?]

γ′. Read: *sems kyis*?

δ′. Read: *'chang*?

ε′. Read: *bsnyen par*.

[2a1]@//____so sa gling gi dur khrod[9] du song dang :__khyod kyi skye ba mang po'i bla ma byas pa'i mi dra 'dze ki[10] zhes bya ba spyan ral gzigs kyi sprul pa 1 yod kyi:__des khyod byin gyi brlobs pa dang [2a2] lung bston par 'gyuro:__zhes zer nas naMkha' la 'jal[α′] yal ba ltar mi snang bar songo :__de nas so sa gling gi dur khrod du byon pas:__rje brtsun mi dra nyid dang mjal ste:__seng ldan[β′] gyi shing yal [2a3] ga dang lo ma dri phun 3 tshogs pa 1 gi rtsa ba na khri snyan sa le'i steng na rje brtsun nyid sku mdog dkar ba la dmar ba'i 'dangs[γ′] chags pa:__sku la ras kyi 'gan cha ra gsol zhing:__phyag 2 mnyaM [2a4]_bzhagi phyag rgya mdzad sa:__g.yas na rtag[δ′] dang g.yon na doM 2 khyi tshugs su 'dun pa dang 'jal:__tshogs kyi 'khor lo dang maNDala[ε′] phul nas gsol ba 'di skad btabo:__rje brtsun legs bdag ye shes kyi mgra'[ς′]

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9. Charnel ground of Sosaling near Bodhgaya, famous for being the place where Śrī Siṁha met 'Jam dpal bshes gnyen.

10. Mitrayogin (aka Jaganmitrānanda), author of the *Candrarājalekha*, is mentioned in connection with Śāriputra in the *Myang chos 'byung*, 131. He is cited as the latter's teacher in the *Deb ther sngon po*. Mitrayogin is said to be the preceptor of Gahadvala Jayachandra (c. AD 1170), and a Mahāsiddha. The *Deb ther snon po* mentions both a Mitra and Mitrayogin, sometimes conflating them. A biographical sketch of Mitrayogi is found in section 14.4 (Chendu 1200).

α′. Read: *'ja'*?

β′. Misspelling of *tsan dan* (sandalwood)? or *seng ldang* = acacia wood (Skt. *khadali*).

γ′. Read: *dmar ba'i mdangs.*

δ′. Read: *stag* (see 2b4).

ε′. *maṇḍala.*

ς′. Read: *mkha' 'gro.*

[2a5]_ma 1 gi lung bstan nas 'dir 'chis[α′] pa leT pas:__smin byed kyi dbang dang :__grol byed kyi gdaMs ngag tshe 1 la sangs rgya[β′] ba'i gdaMs pa 1 zhe us(!)[γ′] gsol ba btab pas:__rje brtsun gyi zhal nas nga [2a6]_'chi med grub pa'i rnal 'byor pa yin zhing :__ngas so sa gling gi dur khrod 'dir bsdad nas:__'jaM dpal spyan ras gzigs phyag na rdo rje tshe dpag med:__sgrol ma:__dzaM la ser po rnaMs dngos 3 du[δ′] zhal mthong [2a7]_so so'i dbang dang sgrub thabs bskyed rdzogs khrid dang bcas $_{pa}$ thob pa ni:__'jaM dpal dbyangs sku'i khrid shreb[ε′] 'phel byed ye shes brgyan gyi 'khor lo:__spyan ras gzigs gsung gi khrid byub[ϛ′] laM rim ba yongs su bsdus [2a8]_pa bduM di'i(!)[ζ′] dga' bston[11]:__phyag na rdo rje thugs kyi khrid bdung dsung 'joMs byed 'od zer rgyas pa[12]:__tshe dpag yon tan gyi khrid:__mchi med rdo rje'i sku sgrub

11. See text in the *'Bras spungs dkar chag* ascribed to Ku cor rtogs ldan (770 #8542): *Spyan ras gzigs dbang gsung gi khrid yig byang chub lam gyi rim pa thams cad yongs su bsdus pa'i bdud rtsi'i dga' ston.* Possibly refers to the text of Mitrayogi later translated by Śāriputra, *Spyan ras gzigs kyi lam gyi rim pa rdo rje'i tshig rkang mi tra dzwo kis mdzad pa paṇḍi ta shri pu tra'i 'gyur.*

12. See text of the same name in *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (770 #8546), also attributed to Ku cor rtogs ldan.

α′. Read: *mchis.*

β′. Read: *sangs rgyas.*

γ′. Read: *zhes zhus.*

δ′. Read: *mngon sum du.*

ε′. Read: *shes rab.*

ϛ′. Read: *byang chub.*

ζ′. Read: *bdud rtsi* (with errant anusvara?).

pa:__sgrol ma 'jigs pa brgyad skyobs 'khor ba'i phreng [2a9]_sgrol 'phris lhub[α′] ces bya ba'i khrid[13]:__mgon po 'dzaM la'i[β′] khrid dngos grub char 'bebs[14] ces bya ba te[15]:__khrid drug po 'di dbang lha so so'i zhal nas gsungso:__de yang lha de dagi zhal

[2b1]_nas:__khrid kyi nyaMsu blang pa[γ′] las:__gzhan la yang chig rgyung[δ′] du bston dang rgyud pa bdun gyi bar du bdag cagis[ε′] byin gyis blob[ς′] pa yin[16] sungs nas lung bstan pa yin:__khyod rang gis [2b2]_kyang nyaMsu leng[ζ′] la bod phyogs kha ba can gyi khrod du gdaMs ngag 'di rnaMs kyi snod dang ldan pa:__khyod rang yid ches

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13. Compare *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (770 #8548), *Sgrol ma'i khrid 'khor ba 'phreng sgrol 'phrin las lhun grub*, also attributed to Ku cor rtogs ldan.

14. See *'Bras spungs dkar chag* (770 #8550), *Mgon po Dzam+bha la'i khrid dngod grub char 'bebs*, also attributed to Ku cor rtogs ldan.

15. These are likely the six dharmas of Mitra (*chos drug*) mentioned in the *Myang chos 'byung*, 131.

16. It is unclear if this is both the end of Mitrayogin's report of the deities' speech as well as his own, or just marks the end of the deities' speech. This is especially true as what follows, a prophesy of going to Tibet, could apply to either Mitrayogin or Śāriputra, both of whom traveled to Tibet.

α′. Read: *'phrin las lhun grub.*

β′. Read: *'dzam pa la'i.*

γ′. Skt: *anuṣṭhānam*

δ′. Poss: *rgyud.*

ε′. Read: *cag gis.*

ς′. Read: *rlob.*

ζ′. Read: *len.*

zhing :__rgyu lus dang smi laM 'byongs pa 1 yod pas de la [2b3]_gdaMs pa 'di rnaMs par rdzogs par byin 1:__byang phyogs nas byang phyogs su dar zhing rgyas par 'gyuro:__zhes lung bston te:__de nas bla ma la phyag mang du phul/__bskor ba mang du byas zhabs spyi bor blangs [2b4]_du:__stag dang doM 2[17] kyang ye she gyi mkha' 'gro mar gyur te:__de nas smon laM mang [po] btab nas:__slar rdo rje gdan du byon pas:__sngar gyi ye shes mkha' 'gro ma dang 'jal[α′]:__de nyid kyi zhal nas:__khyod 'jaM [2b5] dbyangs dang 'jal bar 'dod na:__bod gangs can gyi khrod du song la bsaM yas 'ching bu[18] bya ba'i gnas su 'phags pa 'jaM dpal [la] gsol ba thob dang :__zhal 'jal bar 'gyuro:__zhes lung bstan nas:__[2b6]_yang bu med di mi snang 'gyur to:__de nas bod du byon te 'phags pa 'o te dang 'jal te:__ras ka shi[19] dang a ru ra rnams rgyal 1 phul 'phags pas bzhes pas kun gyi mthun snang du grub [2b7]_cing :__paN chen la mi rnaMs kyis mi brjed pa'i dang pa thob po:__de nas bsaM yas 'ching phur lo 1 gi bar:__'jaM dpal sgrubs pas mngon 3 du zhal mthong:__dbu ma'i don phyin ci ma [2b8]_log de'i dus su rgyud[β′] la skyes pa yin gsung :__de nas gtsang

17. cf. 2a4.

18. *bsam yas mchims bu.* Is he referencing the Sanskrit *kācaḥ* or *maṇiviśeṣaḥ*?

19. Vārāṇasī cotton, muslin cloth.

α′. Read: *mjal*; also in the next line, and consistently throughout the text.

β′. Poss: *rgyung.*

du byon sha ra'i dpon chen kun dga' 'phags[20] gyi[α′] gser zho brgya phul nas 'dir bzhugs par gsol ba btab pas:__lo 1 [2b9]_bzhugs par zhal gyi bzhes[β′] shing :__nyang stod[21] du bzhugs pa la gnas snying mkhan po dang :__ngaM rings bka' bcu ba dang :__gzhung rgya smra pa byub[γ′] 'od zer[22] sogs kyis dge ba'i shes gnyen [2b10]_du ma rnaMs la 'dul ba dang :__bka' dri[δ′] 3 rgya pa dang:__lnga bcu pa dang :__me tog phreng rgyud la sogs pa'i mdod[ε′] pa tshim par mdzad:__khyad par du dge ba'i shes gnyen rnaM sdings pa dpon

[3a1]_@//_slob rnaMs kyis mtshan brjod[23] kyi lung zhus pa'i nyin par:__sa g.yos pa

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20. Possibly Shar kha ba kun dga' 'phags pa (1357-1412), whose seat was at Dpal 'khor chos sde. Again, this may indicate his passage though, or return to, Myang much earlier that the 1414 date in the *Myang chos 'byung*.

21. Upper nyang/nang/myang, containing Rgyal rtse. Could this be the stay indicated in the *Myang chos 'byung*? If so, the dates are skewed, as *Myang chos 'byung* reports three months as the stay, while a stay of one year is reported here. Nyang stod is also the name of a cave in Mchims phu.

22. No indication of who this figure may be, other than there being a fourteenth-century figure from A mdo named Byang chub 'od zer.

23. *[Mañjuśrī]nāmasaṅgīti.*

α′. Read: *gyis.*

β′. Read: *zhal gyis bzhes.*

γ′. Read: *byang chub.*

δ′. Read: *bka' ri.*

ε′. Read: *'dod.*

dang me togi char bab pas:__kun gyi[α′] 'di ni sprul pa'i paN tri ta yin nges zer zhing mi thaMdd par[β′] gyur to:__[3a2]_de nas brgya nag lta'i mi[γ′] rgyal pos:__bod du rgya gar gyi paN tri ta khyad par can 1 phebs 'dug zer ba gsan nas:__gdan dren pa la rta zhing cheno 3 btang nas:__gtsang nas gdan drangs pa lha sar [3a3]_phebs:__jo bo shAkya mu ni la zhal gser gsol ba dang dngul skong brtsuT pa'i nub mo jo bo la bskor ba brgya rtsa mdzad dus:__jo bo zhal nas:__khyod ni mya ngan 'das 'og du dga' [3a4]_ldan gnas su skye bar 'gyur:__grags pa mtha' yas mtshan gsol cing :__khyod rang khrad[δ′] tshad thaMd kun mi phaM drung du skye bar 'gyur:__ces gsungs pa dang :__bzhan yang lung bstan mang du byung :__[3a5]_khyad par du jo bo'i thugs kha nas 'od zer sna lnga 'phros bdag[24] gi snying kar thim pas:__zab zhi spros bral kyi ti nge ni(!!) bzang po skyes gsung :__de nas lha sa'i khyams kyi steng gi 'dung ra[25] na bzhugs pa'i [3a6]_dus rgyal khams pa 'gyir ti rad na[26] dang 'jal:__zab pa dang:__gya[ε′] che ba'i gdaMs pa zhus zhus pas:__khyod smi laM[ς′] 'byongs po 'dug zer bas shod

24. This may indicate that the biography was dictated.

25. The courtyard of the Jo khang in Lhasa.

26. Kīrtiratna, i.e. Grags pa rin chen.

α′. Read: *gyis.*

β′. Read: *mi thams cad dad par.*

γ′. This is probably a misspelling of *rgya nag*, or possibly "the king, a person with one hundred black views."

δ′. Read: *'phrad.*

ε′. Read: *rgya.*

ς′. Read: *rmi lam.*

gsung :__kho bos kyang smi laM bzung nas:__[3a7]_drung du phyin pas drung pa nyid ti nge ni(!!) la bzhugs lugs dang rdo rje gdan gyi bkod pa zad la bcos pa dang :__kun dka'o'i[α′] tshems la ring bsrel 3 byon pa dang :__nam za rgya gos 1 gi gong pa na [3a8]_dar kud[β′] chun bu 1 'dug pa yan sku mdun du zhus pas chos rje zhal nas:__rje brtsun mi tra 'jo ki gsung ba la nga'i lha drug po'i _skyed rdzogs snod dang ldan pa'i rnal 'byor pa thod rgal pa[γ′] [3a9]_1 byang phyogs gangs can gyi khrod nas 'byung :__de nyid snod ldan yin pa'i rtags su lte ba na rdo rje'i sme ba dang :__sla[δ′] g.yas nang na sme ba khrod bo'i spyan 'dra ba yod pa:__rgyu lus dang smi [3a10]_laM[ε′] 'byongs shing {khyod yid} ches pa 1 yong :__de la gdaMs pa 'di chig rgyud du bston[ς′] dang :__mi rabs bdun tshun chad lha 'di rnaM kyis byin gyis rlobs pa sha stag 'byung zhing :__byang phyogs

α′. Read: Kun dga' bo'i = Ānanda's.

β′. Read: *dar skud*?

γ′. Also possibly *thod rnam ba = thod bsnams pa.*

δ′. Read: *brla.*

ε′. Read: *rmi lam.*

ς′. Read: *ston.*

[3b1] {? nas ?i? dag nyaMsu[α′] long da?}[β′]r zhing rgyas par 'gyuro[γ′]:__ces lung bstan pa de khyod yin par 'dug bas gsungs nas: __thuT daM[δ′] lha drugi gdaMs ngag[ε′] rjesnang[ς′] dang bcas pa dang :__bka' bsrungs_[3b2]_drag lha mgona'i[ζ′] brjesnang[η′] rtoT dang bcas pa thuT la rnaT bzhan yang man ngag lung bstan mang du mdzad cing :__gdaMs pa 'di yiger 'bri bar zhus pas:__khyod rang yige la ma 'debs yige la bdebs_[3b3]_pa'i gang zag 1 yong syang[θ′] :__lar khyod rang nyaMs rtoT mi la ngom[ι′] pa spongs:__ma spongs na bar chad 'byug pa'i rgyu yin pas sbas pa'i tshul du gyis

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α′. Read: *nyams su.*

β′. This section suffered water damage and only partially legible by holding original manuscript up to the light, but it is likely a restatement of Mitrayogin's earlier testament (cf. 2b3): *byang phyogs nas byang phyogs su dar zhing rgyas par 'gyuro.*

γ′. Read: *'gyur ro.*

δ′. Read: *thugs dam.*

ε′. Read: *drug gi gdams ngag.*

ς′. One would think to read *rjes snang* here, but is surely *rjes gnang*, "authorization." Skt. *anujñā, abhyanujānāti.* See similar usage in *Zhal snga bka' brgyud kyi thun mong ma yin pa'i chos 'byung*, 75-76, where it is distinct from an empowerment (*dbang*). TTC 915 defines it as 1) *byas chog pa'i dgongs pa*; 2) *lha'i sgom bzlas dang 'chad nyan byed par dbang ba'i byin rlabs gnang ba.*

ζ′. Read: *mgon pa'i.*

η′. Read: *brjes gnang.*

θ′. Read: *gsungs.*

ι′. Poss: *ngoms.*

syang :__brjeun[α′] mi tra dzo ki dang 'jal bar_[3b4]_'dod na[β′] khyod rang gsol ba thob dang 'jal yang srid syang :__rgya yul[27] la 'byon pa'i dkyel thung la byon dus:__thuT rjes 'dzin par zhu zhus par:__khyod rang gsol ba thob dang bdag cag 2 dga'_[3b5]_ldan du 'jal bar 'dugsung[γ′] ba dang :__4n yang rjesnang[δ′] dang lung bstan mang du mdzado[ε′]:__bdag cagi bla ma paN chen pa'i rnam thar rine[ϛ′] 'phreng ba 'di nyid[ζ′] zhes bya ba 'di kong rang gi[η′] ji ltar gsungs pa_[3b6]_las gzhan gyi bcos slad med par:__dpa(!)ldan[θ′] dags lha sgaM po'i[28] gnas mchog du rgyal khams pa grags pa

27. India or China? Most likely China, so is this vision of protector (Mahākala?) telling him to go to China to gain merit enough to meet his guru in Tushita the justification for Śāriputra going to China?

28. This monastery (founded in 1124) is located in the Lho kha valley, in Rgya tshwa rdzong. See *Lho kha sa khul gyi gnas yig*, 94.

α′. Read: *rje brtsun.*

β′. Poss: *'dor na.*

γ′. Read: *'dug gsung.*

δ′. Read: *rjes gnang.*

ε′. Read: *mdzad do.*

ϛ′. Read: *rin chen.*

ζ′. *'di nyid* has dots above, possibly indicating deletion.

η′. Read: *gis.*

θ′. Read: *dpal ldan.*

rine[29] gyi[α′] sbyar ba'o:__'di bris dge ba'i mthu yis ni:__bla ma'i sku syang thuT 'grub shog:

[3b7]_@//__brje brtsun grags pa rine gyi rnam thar tshig bcad ma bzhuT//

//na mo 'gu ru:__tshoT 2 mngon par yangs pa'i naMkha'[β′] la:__mkhyen 2 dkyiro[γ′] rab rgyas nyin mo'i bdag:__don 2 dpal_[3b8]_kyi rol pa'i 'od stong dgyed:_sgrib 2 mun bsel chos kyi rje la 'dud:__rtoT ldan sangs rgyas dpal gyi[δ′] bdag la ni:__khyed kyi rnam bar mthar[ε′] pa gyis ces pa:__bdagi[ϛ′] snam[ζ′] par thar pa 'dor bsdud pa:_[3b9]_'di ngag yin pas nyon la yid la bzung :__chu ngu'idus nas bsdig pa dug[η′] 4n spangs:__dge la brtson zhing lhag par sgrub la mos:__de yang kho bo'i rnam par thar pa yin:

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29. Grags pa rin chen is cited as being Śāriputra's disciple in the *Myang chos 'byung*, 131. There, he is called Mi nyag Grags pa rin chen

α′. Read: *gyis.*

β′. Read: *nam mkha'.*

γ′. Read: *dkyil 'khor.*

δ′. Read: *gyis?*

ε′. Read: *rnam thar.*

ϛ′. Read: *bdag gi.*

ζ′. Read: *rnam.*

η′. Poss: *dub.*

[4a1]_@// brjes 'jug rnaMs kyi rnaM thar deni mdzod:__bcrug[α′] lon nas dam pa'i chos sgor zhugs:__ngur mig[β′] rgyas mtshan thub bstan ri rtser 'phyar:__de ya +:__bas[γ′] brjes 'jug +:[30]_[4a2]_mngon gyi sbyang pas ma sgoMs ti(!)nge(!)ni[δ′] skyes:__mkhas grub bla ma rnaMs kyi zhabs la gtuT:__da ya +:__brjes+:__nyiu[ε′] lonas[ϛ′] dbus gtsang phyoT su phyir:__zab yangs dam pa mang po'i_[4a3]_bcud rnaMs 'thungs:_+:_+:__dlyor[ζ′] gnyed[η′] par bka'[θ′] ba 'di drans[ι′]:__le lo spang nas dlyor snying po slangs:__mi rtag 'chi ba snying la zug pa'i mis/__don med tshe 'di'i bya_[4a4]_pa blo'i yis bstang[ια′] :__de +:__+:__dkar nag las 'bras slu ba med pa yis:__mi dge bcu spangs dge bcu dang du blangs:__bla ma rnams kyi[ιβ′] bdag rgyud

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30. For each pair of +:, read: *de yang kho bo'i rnam par thar pa yin:__brjes 'jug rnaMs kyi rnaM thar deni mdzod:*

α′. Read: *bcu drug.*

β′. Read: *ngur smrig?*

γ′. *bas* has dots above, possibly indicating deletion.

δ′. Read: *ting nge 'dzin.*

ε′. Read: *nyi shu.*

ϛ′. Read: *lon nas.*

ζ′. Read: *dal 'byor.*

η′. Read: *gnyer?*

θ′. Read: *dka'?*

ι′. Read: *dran nas.*

ια′. Read: *blo yis btang.*

ιβ′. Read: *kyis?*

byin brlabs cing :__lung_[4a5]_bstan rjesu snang ba mang du[α′] mang du mdzad:__'gro ba seMn[β′] rnam la phan pa'i phyir:__seMs mchog skyed nas bsgrub pa lhur len byas:__+:__+:__rnam g.yang[γ′] spangs nas tini[δ′] la zhuT_[4a6]_pas:__nyaMs dang rtog pa'i yo+tn[ε′] rgyud la skyes:__bla ma rnam la mous[ς′] 'byongs pa yis:__rab 'jam byin brlabs bdagi rgyud la zhuT:__+:__+:__groT la dag snang phyoT med 'byongs pa _[4a7]_yis:__'j+tine[ζ′] chos gyad dagi gos ma nyong :__'gro la snginge[η′] tshad meng skyes pa yis:__bdag 4n rje ba'i spong len nyaMsu blangs:__+:__+:__nyin par phyag rgya cheno'i[θ′] ngang la bzhag:__[4a8]_mtshan mo 'od(!)sal[ι′] rgyun chad med par shar[ια′]:__+:__+:__cho(!)sku[ιβ′] snang stong sgyu ma ltar mthong nas:__sgyu lus 'byongs pa'i rtaT 'kha' bsal bar byung :__rmi laM 'byangs pas phyoT bcu'i

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α′. *mang du* has dots above, possibly indicating deletion, which would fit the meter.

β′. Read: *sems can.*

γ′. Read: *g.yeng.*

δ′. Read: *ting nges 'dzin.*

ε′. Read: *yon tan.*

ς′. Read: *mu tus?*

ζ′. Read: *'jig rten.*

η′. Read: *snying?*

θ′. Read: *phyag rgya chen po'i.*

ι′. Read: *'od gsal.*

ια′. From the meter, it seems that this should be read *rgyan cha med par shar* "rises unadorned," not *rgyan chad med par shar* "rises completely adorned."

ιβ′. Read: *chos sku.*

[4b1]_sangs rgyas kyi:__zhing du phyins[α′] theg mchog mang du thos:__+:__+:__sprul sgyur yul snang bstan la phebs pa yis:__mchog sman the mi rnaMs the tshom bdagis bsal:__+:__+:__[4b2]_seMs nyid skye ba med pa'i don rtoT pas:__sgoM dang mi sgoM mthun 'tshams[β′] bdag la med:__lus ngag yid 3 dge rtsa ci bsgrub pa:__'gro rnaMs sangs rgyas thob phyir bsngo ba byas :__+:__+:__[4b3]_bka' rgyud[γ′] bla ma'i rnam thar 'dzin 'dod rnams:__'di bzhin mdzod dang rnam thar zin par nges:__de bas kho bo'i rnaM thar pa sgrubs:__+:__+:__'di smras dge ba rgya mtsho'i mtha' yas_[4b4]_pa:__'gro ma 4n phan chu rgyun rtag 'bab cing :__snyinge'i[δ′] blabs chen dam chos sgra dbyangs kyis:__rab du tshim nasrgyas 'grub gyur 1:__ces pa dgyes steng chos 'phel_[4b5]_stongsu:__rtoT ldan srgyas[ε′] dpal gyis zhus pa'i ngo bor gsungs pa'o:__

[END]

α′. Read: *phyin nas.*

β′. Read: *mthun 'tshams* "suitable" or: *thun mtshams* "periods."

γ′. Read: *bka' brgyud.*

δ′. Read: *snying rje'i.*

ε′. Read: *sangs rgyas.*

Appendix IV.I

Translation

of

The Biographies of Virūpakṣa, Goraknātha, and Golenātha

I. Introduction to the Texts

The biographies presented here provide rich material for the study of the influence of the Indian *siddha* traditions in fifteenth-century Tibet. While a proper study of them must wait for a separate publication, a few pertinent notes are included here.

All three biographies are written in Tibetan, the colophons stating that they were composed by Śāriputra, and translated by Jñānaśrī. They comprise six folios, of seven lines per folio. The orthography is very similar to that of the *Secret Biography*. This may indicate that both texts were written by the same hand, though probably not the same author or editor. Both these biographies and the *Secret Biography* seem to be compilations of separate narratives.

Concerning the contents of these *siddha* biographies, the Virūpakṣa considered in the first of these texts should be seen as the same Virūpakṣa mentioned in the biographies of the eighty(-four) Mahāsiddhas and in the Haṭha yoga literature from the Nātha sects, such as the *Haṭhapradīpika*[1] and the

[1] This text cannot be ascribed clearly to any religious sect, other than the subsect (which was common to Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools) of practitioners of

Haṭhayogamañjarī. Regarding the latter, he is recorded after Gorakṣanātha, which has been interpreted as meaning that he was a student of the latter. Jālandhara is not mentioned in these Haṭhayoga texts, but does appear in the biographies of the Mahāsiddhas. Here, it seem that at least Jālandhara is the senior adept for both Virūpa and Gorakṣa, which is contrary to the expositions of Briggs and Das Gupta, yet does agree with the (albeit jumbled) genealogical chart compiled by Dowman, in which Jālandhara is alternately listed as the one of the gurus (alongside Vilasyavajra) of Virūpa and – in a separate listing – as the guru of Cauraṅgi and Gorakṣa.[2] The relationship between Virūpa and Gorakṣa is unknown, and their practices do not seem to have much overlap. The absence of Mīnanātha or Matsyendranātha (or Luipa[3]), often held to the first human teacher of the nātha sects[4], is remarkable. His place seems to have been taken by Jālandhara, who is also sometimes held to be a student of Ādinātha alongside Mīna, but with different students.[5] Tāranātha seems to disagree with this tradition of Mīnanātha teaching Gorakṣanātha: *bcu gnyis kyi dzo gi rnams na re / mī na pas lha dbang phyug chen po la brten te thun mongs kyi dngos grub thob / de la go rakṣas rlung gig dams ngag zhus te*

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kāya-sādhana. The lineage list in this text is common to the list of eighty-four *mahāsiddhas* popular in the Buddhist – especially Tibetan Buddhist – traditions. As Das Gupta has pointed out, this text contains some Buddhist categories (Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 196-7).

[2] K. Dowman, *Masters of Mahamudra: Songs and Histories of the Eighty-Four Buddhist Siddhas*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985), 390-1.

[3] Das Gupta, op. cit., 198, 385.

[4] Das Gupta, op. cit., 382ff.

[5] Das Gupta, op. cit., 391ff.

bsgoms pas phyag rgya chen po'i ye shes rang byung du skyes pa yin zhes zer ba sogs khung med kyi gtam sna tshogs yod kyang de zhig bzhag go.[6] He derives his information from his own Indian guru, Buddhaguptanātha, and also must have had access to these biographies, as noted above.

We may note the relative popularity of Haṭha yogic practices among Buddhist (tantric) practitioners, as well as obviously among Brahmanical groups, such as in the note in a commentary to the Guhyasamāja tantra where it is stated that if one cannot gain liberation by ritual or meditative means, then one should practice Haṭha yoga,[7] and the mention of both Virūpakṣa and Nāgārjuna in the *Haṭhayogamañjarī*. In relation to Śāriputra, these methods seems to have come to him via Golenātha, from whom he may well have received the Chinnamuṇḍa practices mentioned in the Virūpa biography, and which he is credited with translating in the Btsan 'gyur (as discussed in Chapter Six). Many if not all the practices of this deity seem to stem from a, if not this, Virūpa.

It seems clear that these biographies represent a source different from those available to Tāranātha, in that there is substantial, different material which Tāranātha does not address. However, all the *siddha*s mentioned in these biographies are also mentioned by Tāranātha, and it can at least be understood that Golenātha, one of Śāriputra's teachers, was a holder of the traditions of both

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[6] *Bka' babs bdun ldan* (*Gsung 'bum* La dwags ed.), 651.

[7] *yadā na sidhyate bodhi/ haṭhayogena sādhayet*, in chapter 18, verse 162cd of Guhyasamāja (Guhyasamājottara); see Y. Matsunaga, *The Guhyasamāja Tantra: A New Critical Edition*, (Osaka: Toho Shuppan, 1978), 125.

Gorakṣanātha[8] and Virūpakṣa. The sources available to Tāranātha – probably via Buddhaguptanātha – should be taken with these biographies as separate traditions, verifying each other. This is especially valuable as they establish the existence of late Buddhist practitioners such as Golenātha.

Tāranātha's biography of Buddhaguptanātha (*Grub chen Bu ddha gu pta'i rnam thar*, 567) underscores the importance of the yoginī tantras, and the traditions of Jālandhara. Both the Dohas of Jālandhara and the sādhana of Vārāhī according to Jālandhara's tradition figure among the empowerments given to Tāranātha by Buddhaguptanātha. In fact, he and Ḍombipa are the only two humans mentioned among the descriptions of these various sādhanas.

[8] That Gorakṣa was venerated by the Buddhists as well as non-Buddhists is attested by his presence in the tales of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*. Tucci (1931: 685) has also noted his popularity among the various religious communities. Tucci, "The Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century," 685-7.

II. Translation of the Virūpakṣa Biography[9]

1a) The Biography of Śrī Virūpa (Bir wa pa)

Rinpoche Kun dga' grol mchog (1508-1566) bestowed this biography of *Bi ju pa* (Virūpa), saying it was unique.

1b) In Sanskrit: *Śrī Vīrupakṣabikāthā*; In Tibetan: *Dpal ldan Bir wa pa'i rnam par thar pa* (*The biography of Śrī Vīrupa*). He was the son of a king. [As for his] father, he died before [Virūpa] was able to speak. Apart from [him] and his mother, the two, the royal see was empty. As for his clan, [it] was *kṣatriya* of *brahmin* descent.[10]

When he was young, the seer naming [him] said: "First, having wandered (*'khor*) in other lands, taking meals with low-caste people and sleeping with [your] mother (*ma dang lhan cig nyal ba*) and becoming a drunk (*chang 'thungs pa*) and a cow-killer and Brahmin-killer and [in short] one who does the five [evil] deeds." Since these are avoidable things for Brahmins, he thought: "Even/although staying in this land, it is like that. Inasmuch as I will be an inexpiable sinner, having gone to [the state of] itinerancy (*rgyal khams phyogs med*), [I] will reside in places where the ears [of] this mother will not hear [of my deeds]." Having thought [thus], [and]

[9] This biography is also substantially found in Tāranātha's *Bka' babs bdun ldan* (*Gsung 'bum* [Ladakh ed.], 571ff). However, the first part is ascribed to Virūpa's student, Kāla Virūpa (Nag po Bi rū pa [*Bka' babs bdun ldan*, 572-3]), and the scene with the Muslim king to a later appearance of the senior Virūpa *qua* Siropa in the land of Gora (*Bka' babs bdun ldan*, 571). Virūpa is said to have gone to China (in particular, Wutai Shan) after the episode with the Muslim king.

[10] Śāriputra as also said to be a " *kṣatriya* of *brahmin* descent" (*bram ze'i rgyal rigs*). See note on mixed castes in Chapter Four, n. 52.

having gone to other land(s) and city/cities (*grong khyer*), I stayed for about twelve years.

Then [as for] his mother, [her] husband[11] (*skyes pa*) died. Since [her] only son had gone to itinerancy, the mother also, having gone from one land to the next (*yul gzhen dang*), did the work of a prostitute. Then, the boy having arrived at the brothel, [he] stayed from the monsoon [season], dwelling with a harlot. Then, because of the place, and they did not recognize each other, [they] did wrong. Then since it was the middle of the night and [he] being parched, that woman gave [him] liquor. Having drunk it unthinkingly,

2a) he became angry because of the liquor; by throwing the [liquor-]vessel (*rdza ma*) to the floor below (*'og khang*), he struck a young calf on the head and [it] died. There was a Brahmin who cleaned up the cow dung. [He] cared for the cow like a mother, and since [Virūpakṣa] killed the cow, [he] was afraid that if the other person saw [that], he could not enter the *zla* of the brahmin; so, [he] threw [the dead calf] over to a wolf, and having struck the head of the Brahmin sitting in a squat, [the Brahmin] died.

[11] Note that all the honorific terms used in the previous account of the death of Virūpa's father (*yab…grongs*) are now gone (*skyes pa…shi*). This may indicate that the narrator's perspective has been replaced by the mother's perspective, who would not necessarily use honorific speech in relation to her husband.

Having thought, "So, it has happened like the astrologer in my own country said," [he] asked the woman, "what is your country," and [she replied] "Ḍa ki na pan tha[12]."

"What is [your] class?"

"[It] is Brahmin."

"What it the name of [your] husband (*skyes pa*)."

"Śrī Bra rma da to."

"What are you called?"

"La kha mi" [= Lakṣmi[13]]

"Do [you have] a son?"

"[He] is called 'Śrī Dharmapāla[14],'" [she] said.

Knowing that [everything which] was not appropriate for a brahmin had happened in one full night, [he was] fiercely grieved. Having thought, "[I] must find a unique method which can purify a sin.[15] I must meet with a good guru." By [continuously] searching for (*tshol gyin byon*) a guru, having arrived at (lit. "met with" *mjal*) Khan da

[12] Perhaps the same Ḍākinīpaṭa (Ḍā ki nī pa/pha ṭa) mentioned by Tāranātha (569-70) as the site of some of Virūpa's activities. Tāranātha states that this place is in the east of India, despite the assertions of many Tibetans that it is in the South (*ḍā ki nī pa ṭa zhes pa 'si bod rnams lho phyogs yin zer na'ng yod ni shar phyogs na yod par gda'o*).

[13] In Tāranātha's history of Virūpa, Lakṣmī is the name of Kāla Virūpa's mother (572).

[14] According to Tāranātha (572), Virūpa – not Kāla Virūpa – was also known as Śrī Dharmapāla (*slob dpon 'di la Śrī Dharma pā la zer yang/ gnas brtan dharma pā la zhes bya ba na lenda'i mkhan po mdzad pa de dang mi gcig go//*).

[15] In the text, both verbs in this sentence are in the perfective tense.

li[16], the place Dza lan dha ra (Jālandhara)[17] resided, then asked about the previous [events]: advice on purifying [his] sin(s). Others requested [practice] authorizations [for] a quick path. Jālandhara knew [him] to be a worthy vessel (*snod ldan du*) [of the teachings], and gave unfathomable precepts (*bka'*), *sūtra*, and transmissions; in particular, many *dharma*-s of Vajrayoginī appeared, the chief among them being (*de'i nang nas mchog tu gyur*) the instructions (*gdams*) of Cinnamuṇḍā – this he gave.

2b) [Jālandhara] said, "Now, since you are a great sinner, stay inside water and sink down with the water under [your] heart, and vow to propitiate this Bhagavatī [by saying] five hundred thousand *mantra*-s! Having seen [her] face, make [her your] *dharma* teacher." Then, the guru performed an propitiation like he described. Then, [he] did three hundred thousand [*mantra* recitations]. Since signs and dreams and so forth [of] the sin(s) being purified did not occur, since [he] did not trust in the [guru's] pith instructions (*man ngag*), having cut [his] rosary cord, scattering [the beads] into the lake, he immediately got up and went back. Since [Virūpa] asked, "[Why] do signs of the sin(s) being purified not arise[?],"the guru said, "You are nearing [your] desire. Keep going! (*da rung bgrub pa gyis 1*)." Having [thus] spoken, [Virūpakṣa] again went back, and *da cig* (instantly) the rosary [beads] he had scattered were sitting [there] whole (*tshang par 'dug*); so then being extremely motivated (*yid spro*), he accomplished (*skyal*) two hundred thousand [*mantra*

[16] Possibly the same Kadalī mentioned later in the biography of Gorakhnātha as the residence of Jālandhara.

[17] According to Tāranātha (573), Kāla Virūpa meets and is initiated into Vajravārāhī sādhana by Jālandhara (Dza landha ra pa).

recitations] one-pointedly; so then at daybreak, Bhagavatī, having wondrously manifested herself as a person, said, "Boy, what do you desire?" Having said, "[I] desire to cleanse [my] sin(s), then attain accomplishment!" [He] asked, "Who are you?" "*Vajrayoginī ho* – which in Tibetan is 'I am Vajrayoginī'" [she] said. And so, having prostrated, [Virūpa] requested, "I pray that you never separate from my (*bdag gi*) body," and [she] pronounced, "If I (*nga*) reside in your body, by my (*nga'i*) majesty, people who see you will be reduced to ash, so I won't stay." "Well then, [I] request that you just come stay on top of my head (*mgo la the 'ong*(?) *tsam bzhugs*)," [he] requested.

3a) So, [she] did (*gnang te*); remaining in the middle of his matted locks.

Thereafter, by performing miracles, [he] introduced the Buddhist teachings (*nang pa'i bstan pa*) to many [people such as] those who made offerings of flesh and blood to the deities [in] the non-Buddhist temple, kings who delighted in killing and cuting(*rgyal po gsod gcod la dga' ba rnams*), and many non-Buddhists. Then, Ārya Mahākarunika Avalokiteśvara having arrived, [he] said, "Son of good family! Peacefully lead sentient beings whose behavior accumulates karma (*las la spyod pa rnams*)! The Bhagavan also is one who performed the benefit [of others] through [skillful] means."

This [is] a mere fraction (*zur tsam*) of the *Virūpapurāṇa* (*sngon byung*).

* * *

The current Śrī Virūpa is one *yojana* (about six miles) between a Muslim (*sog po*) palace east of Paṇ kru ba [and] so-called Ma du ra su (Madras?). There in that

place (*de'i gnas de na*) he resides now, initially relying on a circle of many yogis. Then, since everyone said (*labs*), "From his behavior, [Virūpa] is a *siddha*." The king of the Muslims (*sog po'i rgyal po*),[18] called *Kāyastha (? Go yastim), called for an investigation [of if he] was a *siddha* or not (*grub thos yin min*). He sent a messenger. [Virūpa was] called before the king, and [the king] said (*zer*), "bind [his] four limbs and cast [him] into the water." Although throwing [him], the ropes came loose of their own accord, [and he] sat atop the water like a wild duck. "Since he is one who has the instructions of not sinking into water, cut [him] with a sword (*ral khri'i bstubs*)." By order of the king, by thrusting [*mnun* = *snun*] the sword, [it] broke into pieces, like striking into a rock of molten cast iron (*khro chu*).

3b) A great pain arose of itself in the executioner, and [he] was unable to do anything. Now the king does not believe [in Virūpa]; [he] says (*zer*), "Light a great fire and roast [him]!" Following the command, [they] flung [Virūpa] into a ring of fire, but it was not able to burn even a hair on his body – for example, like the dew on top of a lotus. Then, still not believing, having prepared in many ways poisons of touching (*reg pa'i dug*) and composite poisons, [Virūpa] took [his] fill [from a] silver ladel, and said (*gsung*), "Oh my, what delicious nectar!" Then he drank (*gsol*) three ladels [of poison]. Then, [the king] covered [him] with a curtain (*yol bas chod*) and said "don't let [him] go anywhere!." Then the next day, the king looked to see if the yogin was dead or not, and saw that that yogin, being sleepy, having sat in *samādhi*,

[18] *stag gzigs gi rgyal po* in Tāranātha (571). See Chapter Three on both *sog po* and *stag gzigs* as designators of Muslims. In Tāranātha, the site of this episode is *shar phyogs go ra'i yul*.

rose up to what appeared to be (*tsam par snang*) [the height of] a palmyra tree, so the king was afraid and [his] heart quaked. [He] cut the ropes on the *siddha*. He thought: "If I speak the truth, [you] could have reduced [me] to ash in an instant, but having thought to be more patient than that, [I] offer gold ladels and silver ladels, gold bowls and silver bowls, a silver vase of water to drink, an unbearably heavy string of silver, golden clothes which are variously painted, and a bejeweled throne, I [am one of those who] desire battle (*bdag gis rgol ba zhus pa rnams*). Since the nature of you lords of yoga is patience, having been patient [with me], so I [DELETED] request to be taken as your disciple (*rjes su 'dzin par zhus*)."

4a) [Virūpa] was not angry, but rather pleased. He said, "That's fine, son," since the king requested that he be his chaplain (*mchod gnas*). The site where this was said is located in Madras(?). There, the precious *mahāpaṇḍita* [Śāriputra] met [Virūpa] and heard the instruction of Vajrayoginī. Aside from fortunate beings (*skal can gyi skyes bu*), [Virūpa] appeared to say "*bu bu*" [i.e. nonsense?] to everyone [else]. When properly asked, [he] said, "*Dharma* instructions should be communicated two or three [times], do not communicate [it] at all beyond that!"

[This] mere fraction of Śrī Virūpa's biography is completed. Uttered from the very mouth of the abbot of Indian Vajrāsana, Śrī Śāriputra Mahāsvamin, translated by Lotsāba Jñānaśrī. May [it] benefit sentient beings!

In Sanskrit: Goraknātha yogeśvarakathā (*Goreknāthā yogashvara bikathā*). In Tibetan: the biography of the lord of yogins, "protector-of-cows" (*ba glang bsrung*, i.e. Gorakhnātha). As for the family of Gorakhnātha (*Go rek nā thā*), [he] was a cowherd. He was guarding the cows of a large city; then, there was someone named Caurangī (*tsa'u rung*)[19] who lacked [all] four limbs, having been cut off due to a punishment of [his] father.[20] Since the *siddha* Jālandhara dwelled at [his] residence of West Kadalī[21] (*nub ka da li*), knowing that one without limb(s), dwelling compassionately, and knowing Goraknātha (*ba glang skyong*) to be a [proper] repository for the profound, immortal instructions, having initially gone before Caurangī, bestowed these instructions of immortality. Having said, "practice one-pointedly [for] twelve years,

[19] Likely the same Caurangī (also, Caurāṁgī, Cauraṁgī) mentioned in the stories of the eighty-four *Mahāsiddhas*, and in the opening verses of the *Haṭhapradīpika* (I: 5) in association with Gorakṣa/Goraknātha and Virūpakṣa/Virūpākṣa (though Caurangī is usually separated from Goraknātha and Virūpakṣa – who are always next to each other when both appear – by a certain Mīna unmentioned in these biographies. The extent to which this catalogue of names represents a lineal transmission is open to debate). Tāranātha spells this *Tsau rang gi pa* (*Gsung 'bum* [Ladakh ed.], 656ff).

[20] It is unclear if the Caurangī's father cut off his limb(s) as a punishment to his son, or if one of Caurangī's limb(s) was cut off due to a crime of his father. This may be meant as an explanation of his name, perhaps from *catur > caur + anga*, "four limbs." *Caturangi/Caurangī* was also a term used by Nāths and Ājīvikas to denote their form of asceticism. "Their religious life was to stand the fourfold test of ascetics, *viz.*, *parama-tapassitā* (great privation), *parama-lukhatā* (great austerity), *parama-jegucchitā* (great loathness to wrongdoing), and *parama-pavivittatā* (great aloofness from the world" (Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 200).

[21] Kadalī is the reputed site of Mīnanātha's captivity (having been seduced by the women there) until he is freed by Gorakṣanātha (cf. versions in the *Mīnacetana* and *Dharmamangala* discussed in Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 201, 368 n. 1, 384).

4b) by that you will become a *siddha*!" [he] said to Goraknātha, "Can you [provide] the food [and] drink which will make Cauraṅgī accomplished, and serve [him]?" So [Goraknātha] said, "[I] can." "Well then, give food [and] drink for twelve years! The limbless one having attained accomplishment, [he] will give the pith instructions to you," [Jālandhara] pronounced. Having promised to fulfill twelve years as ordered, Goraknātha daily carried the food and drink, doing whatever a servant would do for twelve years.

The place where he did his practice was on one bank of a large river. At that time, a large group of merchants became disorderly. Many things, such as gold and silver and pearls and jewels, etc. having been brought, were scattered (*spongs* = *spangs?*), so Cauraṅgī (*gi* = *gis*) asked, "Who are [you]? Where are [you] going?" Since the merchants thought that [he] was a tax collector of the king, [they] said, "[we] are people [who] collect charcoal (*sol ba len*)." So then Cauraṅgī knowingly said, "Let everything become charcoal! (*dngos po thams cad sol bar song cig*)" The merchants, thinking [they] had escaped from the maw of the king's tax collector, arrived on the far shore of the river, and [their] precious things and all [kinds of] jewels had turned to charcoal; having understood that that person was a *siddha*, they returned to his presence. They asked, "Please forgive us for having told a lie, not knowing that you were a great yogin; please return everything to how it was before." "Let it be like that!" [Cauraṅgī] announced, and [they again] carried their

own precious things. Then, just as the guru had said that, all [his] limbs were perfected [i.e. healed].[22]

5a) Having attained *siddhi*, he didn't teach even a single word of the pith instructions, even to Gorak[nātha], but went to Kecharā (*mkha' spyod*).[23]

Then, since Goraknātha had come bringing food and drink, [Cauraṅgī] having disappeared, although looking [for him] in every direction, did not find [him]. Seeing the tracks of the merchants, dreading the thought [they] had killed [him], wept tormentedly. This being known by Jālandhara, [he] went before Gorakhnātha: "Boy, don't be deceived! Cauraṅgī isn't [here], having attained *siddhi*, he left without teaching you even a single word of the pith instructions. I will teach you the pith instructions." Having spoken, the pith instructions of immortality immediately appeared. "Your twelve years serving the limbless one becomes the attainment of *siddhi*." By saying [this], because of [Goraknātha's] previous actions, a great purification [of previous karma], and the truth of attainment (*grub thob kyi bden pa*), real wisdom (*yang dag pa'i ye shes, samyagjñāna*) was born in [his] mind, instantly attaining Kecharā and flying in the sky as an equal to [his] guru. Then, in his mind, he thought, "This is what I must do: I will give these instructions [of]

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[22] Cf. the similar version of this story (as well as an account of how Cauraṅgī lost his limbs) in Tāranātha's *Bka' babs bdun ldan* (*Gsung 'bum* [Ladakh ed.], 656-7). While Tāranātha certainly had access to these biographies, he is not overly reliant on this one for the tale of Cauraṅgī, which is also included in the stories of the eighty-four *Mahāsiddhas*.

[23] The achievement of the state of *khecara* was important to both Buddhist and Nātha yogins. See M. Walter, "Jābir, the Buddhist Yogi: Part Two," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 24, 2 (1996): 149.

supreme attainment to all beings, and everyone attaining a little will be content with a little, and [those] attaining much will be content with much."

Having gone to villages and great cities and marketplaces and

5b) crossroads and large pathways, [he] exclaimed: having asked "who is there who needs meditation [and] *samādhi*?" By giving these instructions to everyone in accordance (*btun* = *bstun*) with their capacities, as for fortunate beings [who] became equal to the guru, and *siddhas* holding knowledge of life (*tshe'i rigs [= rig] 'dzin thob pa*), and those attaining truth, and those attaining each of the eight *mahāsiddhis*, an innumerable amount arose. There were also many who accomplished the action of sealing (*'dzag med* = *kumbhaka*?) and *prāṇa*. Then [he] was called "Goraknātha," in Tibetan it is "Ba glang mgon (cow-protector)," and was famed in all the great lands of India. Therefore, [among] all later yogins, few are known who have not encountered Gorakhnātha.

[This] completes a mere fraction of the biography of the great yogin Gorakhnātha.

II. Translation of the Golenātha Biography[24]

[One of] his [Gorekhnātha's] great son[s] was called Golenātha. The land of his birth is Bengal (*Bham ga la*). The city is [called] Gagalasuri (*ga ga lasuri*). Since he (*khong gi* = *khong gis*) heard/studied this [doctrine of] immortality, having undertaken to live and practice for twelve years inside of a large clay vessel, [he] stayed [there]. When eleven and a half years had passed, eight cows of his patron went astray and couldn't be found, so

6a) he asked his guru, and he knew: "[They] are in this (i.e. such and such a) place, so take [them]," he said, and it happened like that. The patron knew that [he] was a *siddha*; he became happy and sold a cow. For the price of that, he got eight *srang* of

[24] An extremely brief account of the life of Golenātha is provided in Tāranātha's *Bka' babs bdun ldan* (*Gsung 'bum* [Ladakh ed.], 660). There, he is said to be a disciple of Gorakṣanātha via Karṇaripa and Nāgopa (Tib. Gcer bu pa), but in the lineage of Virūpa. He transmits a *yoginī sādhana* to his disciple Onkarnātha. Onkarnātha then transmits to Rātigupta, who seems to have been a preceptor to Śāntigupta, who taught Buddhaguptanātha, who was in turn Tāranātha's teacher. If we merge these timelines, Onkarnātha would be a contemporary of Śāriputra, both of whom studied under Golenātha. Approximately two centuries separate Śāriputra (c. 1335-1426) and Tāranātha (1575-1635). Tāranātha places eighty years between the death of Onkaranātha and the attainment of Śāntigupta. Supposing Onkaranātha had similar dates to Śāriputra, the realization of Śāntigupta would have occurred around 1506. Buddhaguptanātha met Tāranātha in 1594 (Cf. Decleer, unpublished trans., n. 64). These dates roughly concord with each other, supposing that all these figures were long-lived and entered Tibet late in their careers. There is no reason to assume this was not the case, especially given the dates ascribed to Śāriputra, who would have undertaken the journey to Tibet in his late 70s. It is interesting to note that neither Śāriputra nor Buddhaguptanātha sought or was given the amount of patronage sought from and given to Vanaratna. Their journeys may have started as simple pilgrimages which viewed the world of Buddhism as including holy sites in Tibet and China. These sites were therefore important in their own right, and not simply as "substitutes" for pilgrimage to India.

silver, then offered it to the guru, and [he] accepted [it]. Then everyone (*kun gyi* = *kun gyis*) met [him], women requested sons, and so forth. Whatever [they] wanted was given, and [it] arose as [it] appeared. Then, since in *dhyāna* the obstacles of the sense pleasures (*'dod yon, kāmaguṇa*) left, [he] was endowed with the abilities of the Kecharā *siddhi*, the *siddhi* of whatever [one] says being the truth, not sinking in water, etc. Since the name of an Indian pot is "Gole," [he] carries the name of [his] place of residence[25]: he is famed in India as "Golenātha," "Rgya rdza mgon po (clay pot protector)" in Tibetan. Then he also attained the knowledge of life, and is said even now to reside [there].

The summary biography of Golenātha is complete. From the mouth of the Vajrāsana abbot, *paṇḍita* Śāripu[tra], [it] was translated by Jñānaśrī.

May they be bliss[ful]! May the whole world be auspicious!

[25] Thus possibly derived from *kulā*, "vase, urn"?

APPENDIX IV.II

DIPLOMATIC EDITION

OF

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF VIRŪPAKṢA, GORAKṢANĀTHA, AND GOLENĀTHA

1a1//dpaldan bir wa pa'i rnam par thar pa bzhugso//

1a2_bi ju pa'i rnaMr 'di roien[α′] kun dga' grol mchog pas//_gzhan dang mi 'dra ba yin syang[β′] gnang byungo:[γ′]

[1b1]_@@//____//rgya gar skad du:__shrī bī ru pak+sha bi kā thā//__bod skad du:__dpaldan bir wa pa'i rnam par thar pa//__khong rgyal po'i sras yin:__yab :_khong smra mi shes [1b2]pa'i dus su grongs:__yuM dang gnyis yod pa las:__rgyal sa stongs pa yin lo:__khong gi rigs ni braM ze'i

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α′. i.e. *rin po che.*

β′. i.e. *sungs.*

γ′. This line is written in a different hand, and likely represents the transfer of this MS, not its composition.

rgyal rigs yino//__gzhon nu'i dus:__mtshan mkhan gis btags pas:__[1b3]thog mar gzhan gyi yul du 'khor nas:__rigs ngan gyi zas za ba dang:__ma dang lhan 1 nyal ba dang:__chang 'thungs par 'gyur ba dang:__ba glang gsod pa dang:__braM ze gsod pa dang:__lnga byed par [1b4]'gyur zero:__'di rnams braM ze'i spang bya yin pas na:__khong pa'i dgongs pa la:__yul 'dir bsdad kyang de lta bur:__mtshams med pa'i sdig chen du 'gyur bas na:__rgyal khams phyogs [1b5]med la phyin nas:__ma 'di rna bas mi thos pa'i sar bsdod[δ′] bsnyam nas:__yul dang grong khyer gzhan du phyin nas:__lo bcu gnyis tsam song ngo //__der khong gi yuM de yang skyes pa shi:__bu [1b6]gcig po rgyal khams la song pas:__ma des kyang yul gzhan dang gzhan du phyin nas:__smad 'tshong ma'i spyod pa byaso//__der bus smad 'tshong ma'i gnas der sleb nas:__smad 'tshong [1b7]ma 1 la gnas dbyar nas bsdado:__der sa 'chis[ε′] pas cigis _cig:__ngo ma shes nas skyon byaso//__de nam phyed pa dang:__kha skom pas _bud med des chang byin no:__ma btags[ς′] par 'thungs

2a1@//____pas:__chang du byung nas khros te:__rdza ma 'og khang skyur bas:__be'u chung chung gi mgo la phog nas shi:__der braM ze ba glang gi lci ba la gtsang par byed:__ba ni ma

δ′. Read: *bsdad* or *sdod.*

ε′. Read: *mchis.*

ς′. Read: *brtags.*

bzhin 'khur [2a2]_ba la:__be'u gsad pas gzhan grogs kyis mthong na:__braM ze'i zla la ma tshud dogs pas:__phyi rol du lce spyang la bskyur bas:__braM ze 1 tsog pur bsdad pa'i mgo la phog nas shi'o//__[2a3]_der rang yul du brtsis mkhan zer ba bzhin byung pa 'dra snyam nas:__bud med la khyed kyi yul gang yin dris pas:__Da ki na pan[ζ′] tha'o:__rigs gang yin:__braM ze yin:__skyes pa'i ming ci [2a4]_yin:__shri bra rma da to//__khyod rang la ci zer:__la kha mi:__bu yod daM:__shri d+harma pA la zer ba yod zer bas:__braM ze'i 'tshams med:__mtshan gang 1 la byung par shes nas 'gyod pa [2a5]_drag po byung:__sdig pa 1 dag pa'i thabs khyadr can 1 brnyeMd:__bla ma bzang po 1 dang 'jal[η′] lam bsam nas:__bla ma tshol gyin byon pas :__nub phyogs kan d+ha li bya bar:__[2a6]_dza lan d+ha ra bzhugs pa dang 'jal nas:__der sngon gyi rnams zhus te sdig pa 'dag pa'i gdams pa:__gzhan pas laM myur ba 1 rjes su gnang par zhus pas//__dza lan d+ha ras [2a7]__snod ldan du mkhyen te:__bka' mdo brgyud bsaM gyis mi khyab pa snang:__khyad par du rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i chos mang po snang[θ′]:__de'i nang nas mchog tu gyur pa:__ dbu gcad ma'i gdaMs

[2b1]_pa 'di gnang nas:__da khyod sdig chen yin pas:__chu'i nang du 'dug la:__snying kha man

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ζ′. Poss: *san.*

η′. Read *mjal* here and following.

θ′. Read: *gnang*.

chus nub par gyis la:__bcom ldan 'das ma 'di la:__sngags 'buM 'tsho[ι′] lnga bsnyen pa skyol 1:__[2b2]_zhal mthong nas chos ston par 'gyuro gsungs te:__de nas bla mas gsung bzhin bsnyen pa byaso:__der 'buM gsuM song:__sdig pa 'dag rtags dang:__rmi laM lswo pa ma byung nas:__man [2b3]_ngag la yid ma ches pas:__phred thag gcad nas:__mtsho nang du gtor nas har langs byas te:__log nas phyin:__sdig pa dag pa'i rtaT ma byung zhus pas:__bla ma'i gsung nas:__[2b4]_khyod 'dod thag nyes pa yin:__da rung bsgrub pa gyis 1 gsungs pas:__yang log phyin pas:__da cigtor ba'i phreng pa rnams tshang par 'dug nas:__der shin du yid spro nas/__rtse 1 tu [2b5]_'buM tsho gnyis skyel bas:__de nas nam tho rangs:__bcom ldan 'das ma:__mi'i rnam par sprul nas bu khyod ci 'dod gsung:__sdig pa dag nas grub pa thob pa 1 'dod byas nas:__[2b6]_khyed su yin dris pas:__bzra yo gi ni ho:__ces pa bod skad du:__rdo rje rnal 'byor ma yin gsungs pas:__der phyag btsal nas:__khyed bdagi lus la dbyer med du bzhugsu gsol [2b7]_zhus pas//__nga khyod kyi lus la gnas na:__nga'i gzi brjid kyis khyod mthong pa'i seMn rnams rdul du klag 'gro bas mi bsdod[ια′] gsung:__'o na bdagi mgo la the 'ong tsam bzhuT

3a1@//____par zhu zhes zhus pas//__gnang ste:__ral pa'i khrod du bzhuT so//__de nas mu steT pa'i lha khang sha khragi mchod sbyin byed pa dang:__rgyal po gsod gcod la dga' [3a2]_ba

ι′. Read: *tsho*.

ια′. Read: *sdod*.

rnams dang:__mu stegs mang po:__brdzu 'phrul mdzad nas:__nang pa'i bstan pa la bcugo/__de nas 'phags pa thugs rje chen po spyan ras gziT dbang phyugi byon nas/__rigs kyi [3a3]_bu sems can las la spyod pa rnams zhi bas 'dren par byos shig/__bcom ldan 'das kyis kyang thabs kyis don mdzad pa yino gsung-so//__'di bi ru pa sngon byung gi lo rgyus [3a4]_zur tsamo//____//da lta dpaldan bi ru pa ni:__sog po'i pho brang paN kru ba'i shar phyogs na:__mu du ra sur[ιβ´] bya ba:__de gnyis kyi bar na dpag tshad 1 yod do:__de'i gnas de na:__da [3a5]_lta bzhugs te//__thog mar:__dzo gi mang po'i 'khor rteno[ιγ´]//__der thaMd kyis spyod laM las gruob yin par 'dug zhes labs pas:__sog po'i rgyal po go yastiM:__bya bas gruob yin__[3a6]_min rtag gi bos zhes:__pho nya sngags[ιδ´] te rgyal po'i drung du bos nas:__yan lag bzhi bsdoms la chu la bskyur zer:__skyur bas thag pa rang par grol te:__chu'i steng na ngang pa bzhin [3a7]_'dugo/__der chus mi nub pa'i man ngag yod pa 'dug pas/__ral gri'i bstubs zer:__rgyal po'i bka' yis[ιε´]:__ral gri mnun[ιϛ´] pas:__khro chu'i pha bong la rgyab pa bzhin:__

ιβ´. Madras?

ιγ´. Read: *brten no.*

ιδ´. Read: *mngags.*

ιε´. Poss: *yaMs.*

ιϛ´. Read: *snun.*

3b1_mtshon dum bur chag/__gshed ma la zug[ιζ′] chen po rang byung nas ci yang ma thub po/ /__da dung rgyal po yid ma cheso te:__me chen po sbor la bsregs zer/__bka' bzhin:__me'i dkyiro [3b2]_du bskyur bas:__pa spu tsam yang tshig ma nus te:__dper na:__pad+ma'i steng gi zil pa bzhin 'dugo/__de nas yang yid ma ches par reg pa'i dug dang:__sbyar dug dang:__mang po stabsu sbyar [3b3]_nas:__dngul skyogs gang grangs[ιη′] pas:__a la la bdud rtsi zhim gsung nas:__dngul skyogs gsum gsolo//__da de yol bas chod la gang du yang ma btang zer//__de nas pang de:__[3b4]_rgyal pos rnal 'byor pa shi ma shi ltas pas:__rnor pa de gzims mdangs dang ldan par:__tingeni la gnas nas/__shing ta la 1 tsam bar snang la 'phags 'dug pa mthong nas:__[3b5]_rgyal po bred cing snying 'dar te:__grub pa thob par thag chod 'dug:__khong gis bden pa brjod na:__nga ni skad 1 tsam la brlag 'gro:__de bas bzod pa 'bul bsam nas:__gser skyogs [3b6]_dang:__dngul skyogs:__gser sder dang:__dngul sder:__chu 'thung pa'i dngul buM 1:__dngul gyi dong rtse mi gur 1:__ri mo sna tshoT yod pa'i gser gyi gos 1:__rin po che'i khri 1 rnams phul nas:__[3b7]_bdagis rgol ba zhus pa rnams:__rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug khyed rnams bzod pa'i rang bzhin lags pas:__bzod pa mdzad nas:__bdag [portion erased] rjes [su] 'dzin par zhu ces zhus pa

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ιζ′. Read: *gzugs.*

ιη′. Read: *'grangs.*

[4a1]_@//____khro pa yid mnga' bas:__dgyes te:'o:__bu legs so gsung nas:__rgyal po des:__mchod gnas zhus pas gnang te:__gong du bshad pa'i gnas:__ma du ra sur na bzhugs pa yin//__[4a2]_de la paN chen [rin po ches] 'jal:__[rdo rje rnal byor ma'i] gdaM pa 'di gsan gda'//__skal can gyi skyes su ma rtogs:__thaMd la bu bu gsung par snang:__legs par zhus na:__chos kyi gtaM 2 3 re gsung:__gzhan [4a3]_ci yang mi gsung ba 1 'dugo//__dpal bi ru pa'i rnam par thar pa zur tsam rdzogso//__rgya gar rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po:__shrī sha ri put+tra ma hA swa mi'i zhal mnga' nas gsungs pa//__[4a4]_lots+tsha ba dz+nyA na shrī bsgyur ba'o//__sems can la phan par shog/_______________

[II. Biography of Goraknātha]

dge/__@//____rgya gar skad du:__go rek nA thA[ιθ'] yo ga shwa ra bi ka thA:__bod skad [4a5]_rnal 'byor dbang phyug:__mgono ba glang bsrung[κ'] gi rnam par thar pa//__go rek nA thA'i rigs ni ba glang rdzi yin ste:__grong khyer chen po'i ba glang skyong gin yod do:__de nas tsa'u rung

ιθ'. This unusual spelling Go-rek-nā-thā is later changed to Go-reg and Go-reg-nā-tha. Notice that in the following biography of Golenātha, his name is also initially transcribed as Golennāthā, but subsequently as Golenātha. I am unclear on why the final "*a*" is made long in both cases.

κ'. This is one of a few Tibetan translations of Goraknātha given in this biography. Others include *ba glang skyong* and *ba glang mgon po.*

zhes [4a6]_pa yab kyi chad pas gcad nas yan lag bzhi po ma tshang pa 1 yodo:__nub ka da li'i gnas na:__grub thob dza lan d+ha ra[κα′] gzhugs pas:__yan lag med pa de snying rje bar 'dug pa mkhyen [4a7]_nas dang:__ba glang skyong man ngag zab po 'chi med kyi snod du mkhyens:__thog mar tsa'u rung gi drung du byon nas:__'chi med kyi man ngag 'di gnang:__lo bcu gnyis bsgrub pa rtse cig gyis:__

[4b1]_des [khyod] grub pa thob par 'gyur gsung nas:__ba glang skyong la khyod kyis tsa'u rung bsgrub pa byed pa'i bza' tung[κβ′] dang:__zhabs tog byed thub paM gsungs pas:__thub zer 'o na lo bcu 2 bza' tung[κγ′] [4b2]_byin 1:__yan lag med grub pa thob nas:__khyed la man ngag rnams ster ba yino gsungs pas:__bka' gnang pa bzhin lo bcu 2 sgrub par khas blangs nas:__go regi nyin re bzhin [4b3]_bza' btung grangs:__g.yog gang dgos lo bcu 2 kyi bar byaso//__de'i sgrub pa byed pa'i gnas chu chen po'i 'graM 1 du yodo//__de'i tshe tshong pa mang po 1 bzings la byung:__gser dang:__[4b4]_dngul dang:__mu tig dang:__nor bu lswo pa du ma khyer nas yongs pas:__tsa'u rung gi[κδ′] su yin:__gang du 'gro dris pas:__tshong pa rnams kyis rgyal po'i khral len mir go nas:__sol ba len [4b5]_mi yin byas pas:__der tsa'u rung gis shes bzhin du:__dngos po thaMd sol bar song 1

κα′.Jālandhara, also Goraknātha's guru.

κβ′.Read: *btung*. See below, 5a1.

κγ′.Read: *btung*.

κδ′.Read: *gis*.

ces brjod pas:__khong rnams rgyal po'i khral len mi'i kha nas thar snyam nas chu'i yar rgal du sleb [4b6]_pa dang:__rin po che dang:__nor thaMd sol bar song 'dug nas bsams pas:__da ci de gruob du go nas/__slar khong gi drung du phyin ste:__rnal 'byor chen po yin par ma shes nas:__brdzun zhus pa la bzod:__[4b7]_pa mdzad te:__dngoso rnams slar bzhin zhu zhus pas:__de bzhin du gyur 1 gsungs pas:__rang rang gi rin po che swo khyero//__der bla ma ji ltar gsung pa bzhin:__yan lag thaMd rdzogs//__

5a1@//____grub pa thob nas:__go reg la'ng man ngag tshig 1 kyang ma bstan par:__mkhas[κε′] spyod du gshegs so//__der go reg:__skyong gis bza' btung khyer [5a2]_nas yongs pas:__khong mi snang nas:__phyogs 'tshams thaMd du btsal kyang ma snyed[κϛ′]:__tshong pa'i rjes mthong nas:__'jigs pas gsad snyam nas nyams thag par [5a3]_nguso:__de dza len d+ha ras mkhyen nas: __ba glang skyong gi tsar byon ste:__bu khyod bsdul[κζ′] ma byed:__tsa'u rung gis grub pa thob nas:__khyed la gdaM pa tshig 1 kyang ma [5a4]_bstan par song pa yin pa 'dug:__khyod la ngas/ __man ngag bstan gyi gsung nas 'chi med kyi man ngag thog mar snang:__khyod kyi lo bcu 2:__ lag med kyi [5a5]_g.yog byas pa grub pa thob par gyur gsungs pas//__sngon gyi las sbyangs

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κε′. Read: *mkha'*. See below, 5a6, 6a3.

κϛ′. Read: *rnyed.*

κζ′. Read: *brdul.*

pa che ba dang:__grub thob kyi bden pas:__yang dag pa'i yese rgyud la 'khrungs nas:__[5a6]_skad 1 de la mkha' la 'gro ba thob nas:__naM mkha' la bla ma dang bsnyam por 'phur ro//__der khong gi dgongs pa la/__ngas seMn thaMd pa gdams pa:__mchog [5a7]_du gyur pa 'di sbyin la:__thams cad che thob:__che bar 'tsheng:__chung thob:__chung par 'tsheng pa 1:__bya dgos dgongs nas//__grong dang:__grong khyer chen po dang:__tshong 'dus __

[5b1]_dang:__laM suM mdo dang:__laM srang chen por byon nas:__'bod pa btang te:__sgom ting nge 'dzin dgos pa su yod dris nas:__snod dang btun[κη′] pa'i thams cad la gdam pa 'di [5b2]_gnang pas:__skyes bu skal bar ldan pa rnams kyis ni bla ma dang mnyam pa dang:__tshe'i rigs[κθ′] 'dzin thob pa dang:__bden pa thob pa dang:__dngos grub chen po brgyad [5b3]_po re re thob pa ni dpag tu med pa byung:__'dzag med dang:__rlung gi las thob pa'ng mngo:__de nas go reg nA tha ces pa:__bod skad du:__ba glang mgon ces bya [5b4]_ba yin cing:__rgya gar gyi yul chen po thaMd du gragso//__des na dus phyis rnal 'byor pa thams cad:__go reg nA tha la ma thug pa shas chungo:__rnal [5b5]_'byor chen po ba glang skyong gi rnam par thar ba zur tsam rdzogso//___

κη′.Read: *bstun.*

κθ′.Read: *rig.*

[III. Biography of Golenāthā]

____//de'i bu chen/__go len nA thA ces pa:__khong gi [5b6]_'khrungs yul ni b+haM ga la[λ′] yin:__grong khyer ga ga lsuri yin:__khong gi 'chi med 'di gsan nas:__rgya rdza chen po cigi nang du:__lo bcu gnyis bsgrub [5b7]_pa la bzhugs bzhed nas bzhugs yod pa:__lo phyed dang bcu 2 song pa'i tshe:__khong gi yon bdag 1 gi:__ba glang brgyad stor nas ma brnyed pas/__bla ma

6a1@____la zhus pas:__khong gi[λα′] mkhyen ste:__gnas 'dir 'dug pas long[λβ′] gsungs pa bzhin byung nas:__yon bdagis grub pa thob par shes te:__dga' zhing:__[6a2]_ba 1 btsongs:__de'i rin la:__dngul gyi srang ka brgyad khugs nas bla ma la phul bas/__bla [mas] bzheso:__de nas kun gyi 'jal:__bu med pa rnams kyis bu zhus pa lswo [6a3]_te:__cing 'dod snang cing:__snang pa ltar byungo:__der bsam gtan la:__'dod yon gyi bar chad du song pas:__mkha' spyod[λγ′] 'grub:__bden

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λ′. Bengal.

λα′. Read: *gis*.

λβ′.Read: *longs*.

λγ′. Golenātha is said to be a disciple of Gorakhnātha, but one wonders where this *mkha' spyod* (Skt. *khecarī*) lineage comes from. Could equally belong to Virūpa, in whose biography the Chinnamuṇḍā and Vajrayoginī practices figure prominently.

pa gang brjod pa 'grub pa dang:__chu la mi bying [6a4]_pa laswo pa'i nus pa dang ldan pa yino/ /__rgya rdza'i ming go le zer bas na:__bzhugs gnas la mtshan du thogs te:__go le nA tha:__bod skad du rgya rdza mgono ces:__[6a5]_rgya gar na grags zhes gsungo/__des tshe'i rigs 'dzin yang grub ste:__da lta yang bzhugs yod gsung ngo //__go le nA tha'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus pa [6a6]_rdzogs so//__rdo rje gdan gyi mkhan po paN+Di ta sha ri bu'i zhal mnga' nas/__dz+nyA na shrīs bsgyur ro//__maṃgalaṃ bhavantu śubhaṃm astu sarvajagat[λδ']____/shub+haM//

[end of ms]

λδ'. This sentence is written in Bhujimol ("hooked") script. See the introduction to the manuscripts above, 181-2.

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